

The PSYCHOLOGICAL

D. VOLKOGONOV

War



The PSYCHOLOGICAL War

D. VOLKOGONOV



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

MOSCOW

Translated from the Russian by *Sergei Chulaki*

Designed by *Akhmet Mussin*

Д. ВОЛКОГОНОВ

«Психологическая война»

На английском языке

© Издательство «Прогресс», 1986

English translation © Progress Publishers 1986

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

В ~~0801000000—407~~ 50—86
014(01)—86

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1. Social Consciousness as an Arena of Struggle.....	11
Chapter 2. The Phenomenon of Psychological Warfare	36
Chapter 3. The Psychological War and History.....	61
Chapter 4. The Mechanism of Psychological Warfare.....	88
Chapter 5. The Means of Psychological Warfare.....	119
Chapter 6. The Machinery of Psychological Warfare.....	153
Chapter 7. The Creation of Myths and the Intensification of Psychological Warfare	186
Conclusion.....	235

INTRODUCTION

The main contradiction of our epoch—the contradiction between capitalism and socialism—has, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, become particularly acute. Never before was the danger of destruction of civilisation so great as it is now. Mankind can at any time now start a reverse evolution: back to the stone age. Until now man has been ascending the ladder of social progress over hundreds of thousands of years (scientists believe that mankind has been in existence for about one million years), whereas a leap backward could be made within days, possibly hours. And in this case, in the words of Albert Einstein, the universe would not shed even one bitter tear. For we are unique and alone in this infinite universe, or at least nobody has proved anything to the contrary. Civilisation faces the historical dilemma: “to be or not to be?”

In this divided, feuding world each social system is trying to give its own answer to this fateful question. It is important, though, that any attempt to view a solution to the problem of war and peace as some sort of game in which one side should win and the other should lose, is utterly senseless. There should be one common gain for all of us—peace for the whole world—otherwise there would be nobody to pick up the pieces. Regrettably, not everyone in the West is prepared to understand this.

With confrontation between the two systems continuing in politics, economics and ideology, the socialist

countries follow one clearly coordinated strategic line: do everything possible to carry out constructive plans and programmes at home, work to establish peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and at the same time maintain the socialist countries' potential to rebuff any aggressive moves of the enemies of peace. This strategic course has the future because it follows the path of social progress and is therefore supported by millions of people.

Regrettably, the numerous peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries come up against the vigorous anti-communism of the USA and its NATO allies who still think in terms of military expansion, brute force and political authoritarianism, although it has long since been proved that such methods of dealing with the socialist countries are counterproductive. What is more, beginning in the early 1980s, US imperialism set out to achieve unilateral military superiority over the socialist countries, thus displaying its political adventurism and readiness to put at risk the vital interests of mankind for its selfish goals. "President Reagan has made the struggle against communism and for the downfall of the Soviet system one of the priorities of his administration," writes the West German monthly magazine *Die Neue Gesellschaft*.¹ Significantly, the more aggressive quarters of imperialism do not particularly try to conceal these "selfish goals", which are clearly of long-term strategic importance. Analysis of foreign policy statements of the US President and his associates, and especially their militaristic actions, expose these goals quite well. They are the following:

In the *political sphere*—to discredit the system of existing socialism and to show to the whole world that

¹ *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, Bonn, Heft 9/1982, S. 881.

socialism has no future, that it is a short-lived and dangerous phenomenon. To "prove" this pharisaical thesis the capitalist propaganda machine uses all sorts of myths and political stereotypes ranging from the palpably false "Soviet military threat" to contentions about an alleged crisis of world socialism. The political pressure on socialism is being built up with attempts to broaden the anti-Soviet front which includes the NATO countries, Japan, and some other nations.

In the *economic sphere*—to do everything possible to weaken the Soviet economy, to create serious economic difficulties by drawing the socialist countries into a costly arms race, and by other measures ranging from trade and economic discrimination to disruption of scientific contacts and all forms of scientific exchange.

In the *military sphere*—to achieve overall superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in general. Direct confrontation, which the Pentagon espouses as its doctrine, is based on the need for the West to have a stable superiority, despite the fact that only parity between the two systems can serve as the foundation of world security and peace, something more and more people are coming to understand.

In the *ideological sphere*—to redouble efforts to bring massive pressure to bear on social consciousness in the socialist countries. The principal aim of these psychological attacks is to water down and weaken the communist world outlook—the ideological foundation of socialism—to replace socialist with capitalist values: nationalism, for instance, consumer psychology, egocentrism, social cynicism and lack of principles.

These strategic goals are not merely hypothetical theses or an exercise in wishful thinking, but a massive, richly financed offensive. For instance, in 1985 the United States allocated \$314 billion for military

spending and more than \$2,000 billion for the following five-year period. Even half this amount would be enough to turn the Sahara, the biggest desert on our planet, into a blooming oasis and solve many global problems pertaining to public health, education, famine and poverty in the developing world.

The world's leading capitalist country is making similarly wasteful efforts to intensify psychological war and subversive actions against the socialist countries. To this end the USA spends more than \$7 billion annually.

The global and local aspects of the class confrontation between the two systems are reflected in the sphere of social consciousness which, in turn, has a tremendous effect on all aspects of the competition between capitalism and socialism. The ideological struggle has become part and parcel of this competition. Should that be an honest and fair discussion, dialogue or contest between the two systems of ideas, this conflict would not generate hostility, hatred and fear. However, there are forces in the West for whom lying has become the principal weapon against socialist ideology.

As it grows in importance, in scope and ferocity, the ideological struggle, a principal form of the class struggle, is becoming more and more selective in the choice of its targets and methods. It has always been characteristic of bourgeois propaganda, and particularly now, to try to exercise its influence not only in the sphere of theoretical consciousness (ideology, political concepts, and certain social principles) but also in the consciousness of everyday life, especially in social psychology. This activity related to social consciousness, which is known in the West as psychological warfare and which has an important place in the ideological struggle, differs but little from sabotage carried out by the CIA and the numerous subversive organisations of NATO and

its specialised agencies. As was pointed out at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the West does not regard the ideological struggle as a confrontation of ideas. Capitalism "employs a whole system of means designed to subvert or soften up the socialist world".

The class opponents of the socialist community want to establish very clearly who is to be the target of their disinformation, slander, falsification and misinterpretation of facts and events. Their efforts are primarily directed at the youth, a social group with the least social experience; then comes the intelligentsia, the main producer of cultural wealth; and now also at Soviet ethnic groups in order to play up nationalistic feelings and undermine friendship among the peoples in the world's first socialist country.

In November 1981, the US State Department instructed the International Communication Agency (ICA)¹ to intensify subversive propaganda and other actions against different categories of Soviet people. The USIA, CIA and other similar organisations in the United States and its NATO allies are carrying out these instructions by employing a giant mechanism of psychological warfare within the framework of the Truth and Public Diplomacy propaganda programmes, expanded in 1984. In January 1982, Charles Wick, the USIA Director, formulated the goals of these programmes which were, in his view, to undermine the peace movement in Europe, maintain ideological situations favourable to the United States and explore new possibilities for taking Western information to as many

¹ The main propaganda agency of the United States, whose job it is to coordinate and carry out acts of ideological sabotage on a global scale against the socialist and progressive developing countries. Prior to 1977, it was called the United States Information Agency (USIA), a name it got back in August 1982.

people as possible in the socialist countries. The idea is to discredit existing socialism and, in Wick's words, to show the most attractive aspects of life in the United States and elsewhere in the "free world". All this clearly shows the strategic bent of these goals in the sphere of social consciousness, which Washington and other NATO capitals regard as the *main battleground of the psychological warfare, an ideological aggression spear-headed against people's hearts and minds.*

The Soviet Union does not wage a psychological war. Anyone who tunes in to Radio Moscow will hear neither provocative calls, nor instructions for the struggle to achieve "freedom", nor the kind of bluster that is the staple diet of such radio stations as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, manipulated from the United States. The methods and style of psychological warfare borrowed from the propaganda arsenals of Goebbels, from imperialist intelligence services and from the forces of reaction are alien to socialism. The point is that the very truth of history is on the side of socialism; and history needs neither slander, nor disinformation, nor lies. Putting up a barrier to these subversive actions and disseminating true facts about socialism and its policies, and exposing the falsehoods and inventions of the enemies of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, acting from the position of historical truth, is conducting a principled struggle in this class battle.

This book examines the psychological war which certain well-known quarters in the West are waging against the socialist world, fostering enmity, suspicion and bitterness in social consciousness. We all live in one house, the planet called Earth. And if we want to survive, we have to learn to understand one another, to coexist under one roof, something the strategists of the psychological war are trying to prevent us from doing.

Chapter 1

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AS AN ARENA OF STRUGGLE

Lenin elucidated some of the most complex problems of life, bringing them within the reach of millions of people. One such idea is that since man is never satisfied with the surrounding world, he seeks to alter it in line with his ideals and class aims.¹ In different social systems this desire acts in opposite directions.

Today, there is probably no inhabited place in the world that does not come under massive political, social and informational pressure of every imaginable cast and colour. Television, radio, the press have come into the homes of millions of people, cutting distances and breaking barriers between nations. More than 30,000 radio transmitters constantly broadcast information all over the world, and many thousands of TV centres send out video-signals, which are picked up by more than two billion radio and TV sets. There are tens of thousands of periodicals with a total circulation of more than two billion copies. Communication satellites send information through thousands of channels. About four thousand feature films and 700,000 book titles are brought out every year.

This fantastic Niagara of information is meant for one consumer: the social consciousness of people, meaning whole nations, classes, social groups, and individuals. Socialist propaganda brings out genuine facts,

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, pp. 212-214.

the truth about the past, present and future, whereas certain quarters in the West are concerned with the opposite. What they are actually trying to do is to weaken socialism, to ensure—as the US leaders so desire—the dominant role of the United States in the world and perpetuate relations of injustice and inequality. But an evil aim calls for a method to match, and for that Western propaganda-mongers use disinformation, innuendo, juggling with the facts, and outright lies.

As existing socialism increases its economic might, the imperialist quarters have less and less hopes for “replaying” the class battles that capitalism lost in the twentieth century. They have carried their fight into the sphere of social consciousness, not being averse at the same time to a military resolution of the ideological conflict. Back in February 1921, Lenin said that “if at the moment they cannot attack us with guns, they attack us with lies and slander”.¹ These words are very true today.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In any historical epoch the life of people has a corresponding social consciousness, which is rooted in the reality of their existence now and in the past. Even fantastic images and conceptions are based on being. This is why, when interpreting various phenomena and views, opinions and sentiments, it is necessary to know the roots that nourished them and that are part of the social realities.

The social consciousness of a nation is a combination

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1973, p. 159.

of ideas, views and concepts which reflect social reality. This does not mean that the social consciousness of a nation is just the sum total of the social consciousness of all its individual members. Social consciousness functions as an integral system that expresses the most salient features of a concrete social entity and of its material basis. Thus, corresponding to the mature socialist society created with the collective mind and will of the Soviet people is a particular qualitative state of mind, an important part of which is socialist social consciousness. Each epoch, each social system accords with a certain type of social consciousness.

To understand the dialectics of the social consciousness of any nation, of any society, it is important to view the process of production and reproduction of material life and its contradictions, which leave a definitive imprint on the direction and content of ideas, views, illusions and vestiges of the past. And all of them have always been an expression of the objective interests of classes, social groups and individuals. No idea can survive if it does not grow on the right kind of soil. "The *idea* always disgraced itself insofar as it differed from the *interest*."¹

History has many times borne out the correctness of this profound thesis. The path of history is strewn with the debris of various theoretical and ideological doctrines which did not come to fruition in reality for the simple reason that they were not supported by the people and did not meet the requirements of progress. Social consciousness does not automatically depend on the maturity of production relations. Social consciousness does not passively reflect social reality, but does so by

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 81.

carrying out this process actively thanks to intervention by man. The development of ideas, views and concepts has its own inner logic, its own recurring patterns. Here are some of them.

The cultural heritage of mankind raises social consciousness above the realities of today; it enables us to foretell the future and see clearly how society will develop. In the social, economic, military and psychological spheres, this ability of social consciousness has always been of great importance. Today we can make prognostications not only in the sphere of production, and not only in the sphere of international relations, or in science, but also in the sphere of development of man himself, in his education, and in the formation of his humanistic qualities.

The relative independence of social consciousness sometimes allows it to lag behind the existing level of material being. And this is what reactionary forces have at all times tried to take advantage of, playing on man's superstition, backwardness, illusions and ignorance. An analysis of any of the broadcasts of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe shows that they are intended largely for people whose outlook is dominated by the survivals of proprietary mentality, nationalistic prejudice, amoral behaviour, or merely for people who are ill-informed, or too trusting. As history shows, the ideology of the exploiter classes, in an effort to maintain the social status quo, has at all times borrowed reactionary ideas, views and concepts from the past, and sought to update these ideas and use them to discredit progressive theories. All the most reactionary ideological and political doctrines of the twentieth century, such as fascism, are rooted in the nationalism, chauvinism, racialism, and anti-humanism of the past times. Therefore it often happens that theoretical concepts which

sound ultra-modern today actually conceal the old falsehoods of the exploiters, their demagoguery, hypocrisy and irrationalism.

That social consciousness at times falls behind social being can be seen most often in obsolete traditions, mores, customs, habits and in the survivals of a morality that has outlived its time. As a rule, these types of spiritual atavism exist in social psychology and day-to-day consciousness. Antipodes of the new social morals and views, such as greed, alcoholism, parasitism, profiteering, red tape, careerism, linger on in the consciousness of some individuals in the socialist countries, too. It is difficult to eradicate these survivals because of the tenaciousness of all that is old and obsolete. "The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force,"¹ wrote Lenin.

All these nuances in the development of social consciousness are taken into account by bourgeois propaganda, by the theoreticians and practitioners of psychological warfare. There are weak and vulnerable points in human consciousness, due to ignorance, disinformation, and prejudice, say American media theoreticians. To be able to spot and utilise these weaknesses in propaganda means to be able to regulate the behaviour of such people. The methodological directives in some NATO instructions and guidebooks on psychological warfare point out in great detail the specific features of social consciousness to be used in political subversion.

The strength of social consciousness lies in the fact that by taking a certain social direction in its development it can in large measure affect all matters of practical work, production and culture. Ideas become a tremendous material force as soon as they take hold of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1982, p. 44.

the masses.¹ Ideas are realised through the activities of people, and assume the contours of reality in the process of social practice. However, to "get hold" of the masses these ideas must express their vital interests, be accessible, understandable and attractive to the masses.

Social consciousness has a complex structure, which calls for a differential and complex approach to matters involved in the ideological confrontation with the forces of reaction, militarism and war.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY

Each element of social consciousness reflects social being in its own way. From this point of view the structure of social consciousness has two levels. The lower one is common, day-to-day consciousness which includes empirical knowledge and social psychology, while the upper, theoretical level consists of two main elements: natural-technical knowledge and ideology. This division is rather arbitrary. The upper and the lower levels are closely interconnected and interdependent in the process of reflecting social existence.

Common, day-to-day consciousness is a synthesis of man's empirical knowledge accumulated in the process of productive and other experience, on the one hand, and social psychology, on the other. *Empirical knowledge* is built up over thousands of years of human civilisation in the course of man's struggle with the elements, with himself, with class antipodes, as the result of the formation of a certain socio-economic set-up and style of life. This experience is handed down from one

¹ See Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, 1975, p. 182.

generation to another in the form of traditions, mores, customs and established views on different spheres of human activity.

An important role in common, day-to-day consciousness is played by *social psychology*, which is a complex synthesis of social feelings, moods, notions, motives, habits, illusions and prejudices, all of which take shape under the influence of everyday life. Each one of the elements of psychology and its manifestations (tastes, emotions, volitional acts, etc.) bear the stamp of a particular class. Class features in social psychology play the main, determining part. Characterising the social psychology of the masses Lenin singled out its class substance, laying a particular stress on such of its elements as the "class instinct". There are also national and psychological components which characterise the specific features of the temperament, traditions, culture and historical past. Social psychology also contains certain elements that reflect people's professional features and peculiarities. But the main factor underlying the psychological state of people is their social requirements and the economic system.

In his study of the phenomenon of psychology the outstanding Russian Marxist Georgi Plekhanov pointed out that the structure of society is reflected "in the entire *psychology* of men, in all their habits, manners, feelings, views, aspirations and ideals".¹ It is social conditions that bring forth a given type of psychology. Typical of bourgeois psychology is the craving for profit, also social demagoguery, an every-man-for-himself attitude and selfishness. Some features of bourgeois psychology are akin to petty-bourgeois psychology. The

¹ Georgi Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 621.

duality of the position of the petty bourgeois (he is both a small-time proprietor and a hard worker) leads to inconsistency in his views, class aspirations and ideals. It is such petty bourgeois with their psychology that sheer now to the left now to the right and change their political colouring from anarchist black to fascist brown.

The social psychology of the working masses is noted for its collectivism, social solidarity, revolutionary resolve and civil courage. The working class as the main bearer of socialist social psychology is the embodiment of political dignity, historical optimism, and is always ready to fight for social justice. These features show the superiority of spirit in the struggle against the exploiters, in liberation and revolutionary wars, in the building of a new society.

This means that social psychology as the principal part of common, day-to-day consciousness is an important component of the lower level of reflection of reality. Social psychology is concerned with the psychical phenomena that arise as the result of the interaction of individuals in social groups, collectives, classes, masses. These phenomena take up a considerable part, if not the greater part of human consciousness which directly reflects social being. Today this part of social consciousness is in fact a principal target of attacks by professionals of the imperialist psychological war.

The upper level of social consciousness includes natural-technical knowledge and ideology. *Natural-technical knowledge* is taking up increasingly greater space in the structure of social consciousness, its volume growing particularly fast in the years of the high-technology revolution with its snowballing information. Scientific knowledge has many components: theory, laws, categories, principles, ideas, doctrines, hypotheses. These are only truly scientific when they contain the truth, infor-

mation that correctly reflects various processes of being. The role of these elements in the life of man is tremendous, because today there is not a single sphere of human activity that does not come under the influence of scientific knowledge. This is why the ideological struggle involves this sphere of social consciousness, too.

Scientific truth as such cannot be either useful or harmful, because it is people who impart these characteristics to it. It is not scientists, inventors or science itself that are responsible for social misfortunes, tragedies, amorality, but the social system, the ruling exploiter classes which use the latest scientific achievements in their own selfish class interests. Only in the conditions of exploiter society can the beautiful tree of science bear poisonous fruit. And here the United States has always been in the lead. All the most barbarous means of mass destruction first appeared in the United States and only later did the socialist countries produce some of these means of destruction, and that as a forced measure.

And finally comes *ideology* in the theoretical stratum of consciousness, at the rational level of reflection of reality. Ideology is a system of ideas, theories, views that reflect social reality from the positions of certain classes. Ideology as the theoretical self-consciousness of a given class expresses its most profound interests, and is closely linked with the economic basis, with the entire structure of relations in production and of political institutions. The socialist and capitalist societies have antithetic ideologies. In socialist society, this ideology is Marxism-Leninism which has absorbed the vast experience of the working people's struggle for their social liberation. Marxism-Leninism is based on a scientific analysis made by the proletarian ideologists, on the understanding of the inner workings of the socio-eco-

conomic development of society. "Socialism, as the ideology of the class struggle of the proletariat ... is founded on the sum-total of human knowledge,"¹ wrote Lenin.

The ideology of the capitalist world defends the obsolete production relations, the reactionary socio-political institutions, the class interests of big capitalist corporations. And although there are progressive forces in the imperialist states and the working class parties which have their own ideological doctrines, bourgeois ideology still holds a dominant position. "The class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force,"² wrote Marx and Engels. In the present conditions, bourgeois ideology acts as the defender of the capitalist system and provides the theoretical class platform to base all of its moves, deeds and processes.

FORMS OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Social consciousness takes on concrete forms, such as political, legal, moral, esthetic, philosophical and religious. At the early stages of human civilisation, there was no group division of consciousness, primarily due to its immaturity. Amorphous, primitive consciousness was "at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men—the language of real life,"³ wrote Marx and Engels. The subsequent division of labour gave rise to different forms of social consciousness. The first to take shape was morals, then came religion, then the arts. Later came three more

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1977, p. 161.

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1976, p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

independent forms of consciousness: political, legal, and philosophical.

The understanding of the specific features of the different forms of social consciousness is important for the understanding of the processes of psychological war and for ways and means of countering its subversive actions. It is also necessary to know the content of the different forms of social consciousness because these have at all times in history suggested certain directions in the education of the rising generations, such as political, legal, moral, atheistic (religious), and esthetic. On the other hand, the ideas expressed in certain fixed forms are realised through work, which creates the material foundations of labour education.

A concrete social type of personality emerges in the process of production, or some other social activity. There can be no education outside conscious labour and social activity. What are the specific features of the main forms of social consciousness? What is their place in the ideological struggle?

Political consciousness holds a special place in the structure of social consciousness, because it helps theoretically to express the interests of certain classes, groups and communities, their aims and means of achieving them. The basic principles of political ideology are the main instrument in the struggle for political power, for its establishment and consolidation. On an ideological plane, political consciousness is expressed in the form of party and state documents, political concepts, programmes, platforms, plans and declarations.

However, political consciousness can be judged not only in terms of ideology, but also in terms of psychology which includes such elements as class perception, social sentiments, spiritual atmosphere, revolutionary enthusiasm, social optimism or pessimism. The socio-

psychological elements of political consciousness are based on class interests and on class requirements. The working people can only fully understand and express these elements in revolutionary theory, which gives them a historical perspective, articulates their aims and equips them with ideological means in the struggle for social justice. The political consciousness of bourgeois society reflects basically the interests of the ruling classes, provides an ideological basis for making the existing inequality and injustices seem "legal".

The contemporary ideological struggle is basically waged on such political issues as war and peace, the struggle between social systems, classes and military coalitions, the place held by peaceful coexistence in international relations, etc. The entire apparatus enlisted by imperialism in waging the psychological war is angled towards concealing the actual sources of class antagonisms, international tensions, and the causes of modern wars. As Lenin put it: "An eighteenth-century Prussian monarch once wisely remarked: 'If our soldiers knew what we were fighting for, it would be impossible to wage a single war'."¹ The essence of Lenin's remark holds true to this day: in the ideological struggle the bourgeoisie goes to great lengths to distort the substance of socialist policies and whitewash its own policies.

Legal consciousness reflects in the intellectual sphere the will of the ruling class sublimated into law. The political superstructure always includes a certain system of state-established legal norms. The realisation of the substance of legality in people's minds, their understanding of what is legal and illegal, what is just and unjust, what is obligatory and binding make up the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 66.

content of people's legal consciousness.

In the conditions of the exploiter societies of the past, the ruling classes sought to vest their power in the form of supreme justice, to present it as a gift of God, as the people's will, an historical tradition, etc. Geared to this purpose—both in the past and in the present—is the entire system of legal bodies under capitalism, the entire mechanism of legal brainwashing. The bourgeoisie has a long record of social demagoguery. It can, for instance, pass off injustice, exploitation, racial and national oppression as “democracy”, “freedom”, the “exercise of the supreme rights of the individual”, etc. Engels very aptly summed up bourgeois law and legal consciousness: “The English bourgeois finds himself reproduced in his law, as he does in his God, the policeman's truncheon which, in a certain measure, is his own club, has for him a wonderfully soothing power... The working men do not respect the law, but simply submit to its power when they cannot change it.”¹

In the conditions of socialist society, legal consciousness expresses the understanding and acceptance by working people of the fundamental norms and laws that strengthen the state, the way of life, the rights and duties of the individual, the prevailing attitude to what is just and unjust. Soviet people are educated in the spirit of profound respect for the law, because the law guards the interests of the working people, of the state and of society. In its concentrated form the legal consciousness of society is embodied in the Constitution of the USSR adopted in October 1977. It enshrines, in a legal form, the achievements of Soviet society in economic, social, and cultural spheres and formulates the

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 514-517.

legal foundations of the Soviet state, its bodies, the rights and duties of its citizens. The great advantage of socialist legal consciousness lies in the fact that Soviet laws not only proclaim the rights, freedoms and duties of Soviet citizens but also furnish effective guarantees that they will be realised in practice. At our time no person can be considered politically and intellectually mature if he does not know well the fundamentals of law and major acts setting forth legal standards for the life, work, rest and leisure of Soviet citizens.

Over the past several years it is precisely in the sphere of legal consciousness that the imperialist propaganda machine has been launching its numerous subversive attacks. Imperialist propagandists have mounted their hobby-horse of "human rights" and "individual freedoms". They juggle around with facts and use different insinuations in a bid to plant seeds of doubt about the genuineness of the socialist rights and create a false impression of the anti-democratic character of Soviet society. In reality, however, all political power is in the hands of working people and their rights have not merely been declared, but are in fact guaranteed by law. This fact has discredited the efforts of the human-rights "fighters" who are trying to put in doubt their existence in socialist society.

Moral consciousness reflects moral relations between people. It exists in the form of established moral standards, principles, ethical categories of good and evil, of duty, honour, conscience, dignity, courage, heroism, etc. These categories express the attitude of society, its classes and concrete individuals to the interests of the country, of the people, and of the collective, to the family, and to their own duties. Society sets moral standards primarily in the form of public opinion, un-

written rules and codes of behaviour, and also in the form of established socialist customs.

Social moral consciousness forms moral standards for the individual and the collective. Using the norms of ethics, society regulates moral relations, imposes moral sanctions, such as censure and condemnation, and offers encouragement. Moral consciousness reflects primarily the moral relations dominating in society. NATO's psychological warfare apparatus, using radio-propaganda, the press, motion pictures and other channels of propaganda, is seeking to weaken the main element of communist morals—its collective character—and to sneak in elements of individualism, selfishness and social cynicism. The propaganda of "permissiveness" or freedom from the accepted moral standards of society can, according to the theorists and practitioners of ideological subversion, substantially weaken the moral ties of the class solidarity of working people.

Esthetic consciousness concerns a vision of the world through artistic imagery. A man with a developed personality treats the world around him not only from a purely utilitarian standpoint, but also from the point of view of esthetic beauty, because as a social being man not only produces material values, but also creates in accordance with the "laws of beauty". Art, as the highest manifestation of esthetic beauty, not only discharges the function of satisfying man's requirements with things that are beautiful, but also brings out in his consciousness an urge to create and innovate. At the same time art discharges the function of political and moral education, thereby expressing via artistic images its own attitude to reality, social processes and social being. The role of art should not be reduced, nor is it meant to be, to copying the real life around us, to conjuring up the pale shadows of reality. Honore de Bal-

zac once said very aptly that "the aim of art is not to copy nature, but to express it".¹

All the best art is an expression of the essence of a nation. At the same time it is a profoundly social and artistic expression of life's own truth. The best works of art taken together are a treasure-house of the spiritual culture of a people, of all humanity, and thereby, serving as a link in time, discharge an important cognitive function. Humanistic works of art imbued with the drama of the revolutionary struggle and created in the traditions of realism, educate man, generate in him a longing for the beautiful, build in him a good artistic taste, and an esthetic vision of the surrounding world.

The main "tool" of esthetic consciousness is an artistic image. Science gets down to the truth through hard facts, whereas art projects it through artistic images. These images must not, however, lose their social value to become empty, meaningless symbols. Wherever artistic creations detach themselves from the roots of reality there is no art left. This phenomenon can be widely observed in the formalistic creation of different "vanguard" trends which the West is widely using in psychological warfare. Here content is, as a rule, sacrificed to form, which leads the artist and his followers away into the cold abyss of irrational, callous abstractions. It is on these lines that the priests of bourgeois art seek to emasculate the real approach to beauty. Such literature and art have anti-socialist, anti-humane content, preaching violence, gloom and doom, immorality, spiritual bankruptcy and irrationalism. At the same time it is well known that all great creations express the harmony of form and content, the harmony of art-

¹ *Honore de Balzac in Twenty-Five Volumes*, Vol. 22, Peter Fenelon Collier & Son, New York, 1900, p. 20.

istic thought and its social meaning.

Religious consciousness, which exists in socialist society, too, is a fantastic reflection of reality. This reflection is the result of certain social causes. Underlying this religious consciousness of people is their belief in the supernatural forces, humility before the will of the Almighty. On a social plane, it originated from the powerlessness of people in face of nature and the blind forces of social being. In exploiter society, "the socially downtrodden condition of the working masses and their apparently complete helplessness in face of the blind forces of capitalism"¹ go, according to Lenin, to the very roots of religion. The world outlook of working people, their feelings and aspirations were largely linked, particularly in the past, to religious consciousness. "The sentiments of the masses were fed with religion to the exclusion of all else,"² wrote Engels.

Although socialism proclaims freedom of conscience and guarantees it by law, the world outlook of materialism is opposed to religious consciousness which cannot serve as an adequate form of expression of the working people's class interests, of social processes, and of social being. In socialist social consciousness the proportion and significance of religious ideas and views is rather small. However, in any plans for psychological warfare a great deal of attention is devoted to playing up religious sentiment. In some cases, using certain clerical circles in Poland or the Muslim reactionaries in Afghanistan, the imperialists have succeeded in engendering a negative attitude to socialism, to the new social system on purely religious grounds.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1977, pp. 405-406.

² See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 373.

Thus, the different forms of social consciousness, reflecting reality each in its own way, have joined in ideological confrontation. In the process of this confrontation social consciousness takes on new features which must not be forgotten in the struggle with hostile influences.

DEVELOPMENT OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION

Consciousness is known to emerge as the product of a large number of sociological factors, such as the dependence of consciousness on social being and the relative independence of its development. There are also other factors which influence more and more the processes of social development and social consciousness.

Alongside the above general laws governing the development of social consciousness, we shall also mention the growing strength of the class elements in human consciousness, with the parallel continuance and development of generally human elements. When we say "generally human" we do not mean classless. The grandeur of the working man comes from the fact that he, in the periods of the most complex social collisions, and in the days of the dominance of reaction, created, preserved and amassed universal human values, created them by hard work, in the course of the struggle for survival and liberation. The contribution to the universal human treasure-house of intellectual values was particularly great in the days of major class upheavals. Social storms brought forth the finest qualities of the fighting man: mutual assistance, loyalty to the cause of social justice, courage.

Phenomena as they are viewed in their general hu-

man sense are refracted through the prism of class interests and are then interpreted by different classes as nobleness or perfidy, collectivism or individualism, generosity or greed.

Abstract values are of little importance and cannot manifest themselves outside the demands of a particular class. Social consciousness does not reflect "goodness", "freedom", "democracy" in general, as bourgeois philosophers are wont to say. The apparently non-party character of, say, religious sermons is deceptive. They are determined primarily by the class interests which are very thoroughly camouflaged in the setting of continuing struggle between the two systems.

One of the most important sources of the development of consciousness is class struggle. In the case of the Soviet Union, it is raging in the international arena. The requirements of the class struggle and its aims serve as the yardstick of the maturity of social consciousness. This is why the communist and workers' parties have always considered that it was not enough to bring up a man in the spirit of abstract humanism, goodness and justice in general, because these ideological notions, taken outside their class context, are passive, and have no social significance in the struggle for justice, peace and progress. This is why the development of social and individual consciousness is largely determined by the interests and content of the social struggle in the international arena, its consequences which appear in different spheres of life.

Consciousness develops uninterruptedly, reflecting the dynamic changes of the material foundations of society, the development and constant refinement of social relations and the conflicts of the struggle in the international arena. Analysis of the shifts taking place in the sphere of social and individual consciousness in

socialist society shows the existence of new trends that play an important role in its efforts to counter bourgeois influence.

The first trend. The ideas of scientific socialism, which are materialised in socialist reality, are playing a growing role in social consciousness. The free access that the popular masses have to the fundamentals of scientific socialism has radically changed the consciousness of the whole society and its individual citizens, making it stronger politically, and more effective, and giving it greater social emphasis. By comprehending the laws and the principles of the theory of scientific socialism the working masses can increasingly take part in the management of social processes. The growing consciousness of the masses speeds up the process of realisation of the lofty ideals in social practice. Social consciousness thus becomes a still more direct and immediate force which exerts tremendous influence on the entire course of socialist construction. On the other hand, the growing maturity of social consciousness makes it still more stable in the face of ideological attacks by the imperialist opponents. The spiritual strength of the Soviet people is in a decisive degree determined by their loyalty to the true ideology, to socialist values.

The second trend. The development of the consciousness of the individual and of society is becoming less spontaneous due to the fact that inner processes are increasingly regulated by society. The ruling classes have always sought to control the development of people's consciousness. For example, they seek to have people accept the existence of the exploiter system as something everlasting and inevitable; they also nurture anti-communist prejudice and acceptance of the actions of bourgeois political institutions, which they do

through bourgeois legislation, through religion, through propaganda, through the existing systems of education, through commercial advertising and downright disinformation. All this means today, as it did in the past, that social consciousness can be manipulated, and that the truth can be distorted by lacing it with bourgeois ideological myths and stereotypes.

The regulation of the development of socialist social consciousness differs fundamentally from the capitalist system of ideological manipulation. The socialist regulation is prompted by a desire to align human consciousness as much as possible with the laws governing the development of socialist society, whose underlying principle is "everything for the benefit of man, everything for his good". This is why, for the first time in history, it has become possible not to plant ideas, views and ideological postulates, but to combine the objective truth with the vital interests of the working masses. This fact explains the profound interest that Soviet people take in their intellectual development, in political education, in ideological firmness, in the struggle against all which is alien, anti-socialist.

The third trend. An increasingly important role in shaping social consciousness is played by natural and technical knowledge. This trend reflects the effect of the high-technology revolution on the social consciousness of society and of the individual. This trend has a favourable effect, especially in the conditions of socialist society when the high-technology revolution is channeled to serve the interests of the individual and society. The policy for the organic fusion of the achievements of the high-technology revolution with the possibilities of the socialist economic system has a growing influence on the role played by the achievements of science and technology in the sphere of intellectual and

cultural life. This leads to the rising standards of public education, to the improvement of technical training of people in various fields, to the mastering of the fundamentals of new natural sciences. This positive influence is also stimulated by the entire system of social and academic education in the Soviet Union and by the possibilities that Soviet citizens have of "consuming" scientific information. The USSR has 360 thousand libraries with total of 3.9 billion books, and with a readership of more than 200 million. The very fact that Soviet people are well educated and well informed narrows down the possibilities of the bourgeois mass media to disinform them, because it is easier to spread lies in an ignorant society and among ill-informed people.

A statistical analysis shows a marked tendency towards a gradual evening out of the levels of general education among workers and peasants, of different social communities, collectives and groups in socialist society. The high standard of education and professional skill are becoming an important condition for man's social activity and moral freedom. A person with a fundamental education and a high standard of professional skill can fathom more profoundly the objective laws of development of nature and society and, taking these laws into account, can do a much better job and resist hostile influences.

Thus, even the few above trends in the development of social consciousness in modern conditions bring us to the two following conclusions. First, consciousness is deeply affected by the changing material base of society, by the development of social relations. Second, consciousness plays an increasingly active role in the process of building a socialist society.

EPICENTRE OF CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONFRONTATION

The ideological influence upon a community of people is also directed at every individual person. It is the inner world of man that is at the centre of psychological confrontation. With all the specific features of the inner world of every person, of his consciousness, all people are essentially social. In one of his earlier works Marx wrote: "The individual is *the social being*. His manifestations of life—even if they may not appear in the direct form of *communal* manifestations of life carried out in association with others—are therefore an expression and confirmation of *social life*." ¹ All the main features characterising the substance of the individual and his consciousness, come from social existence and reflect the social environment of his existence.

Every person has certain social qualities and is the bearer of his own individual consciousness. *Every person is an inimitable individuality*. Alongside universally human qualities which most people have, such as capacity for work, association, thinking, the individual also has the qualities which he has been endowed with by the community he lives in (world outlook, convictions, social sentiment). At the same time he has certain features peculiar to him. These features can characterise a person from the point of view of his professional qualifications, the level of his culture, creative skills, avocations, specific features of his character, and willpower.

In examining the personality in the context of ideological confrontation as an object of education and self-education, one should see the abilities of this personality as cognitive, communicative, as the ability to associ-

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 299.

ate with other members of society. By learning about the world around him, man absorbs the infinite wealth of social reality, ingests from the information that reaches him what he needs most as a representative of his class and his collective, also what he needs as an individual. Goal-oriented and politically-oriented learning about reality helps to form firm convictions. Moreover, it is important that this person should have a suitable "code of selectivity" for information that would sum up his world outlook.

The communicative ability of a person enables him to transmit, apprehend and select the information he needs for his development, to enrich his own experience through social, moral contacts and through association with other people. These contacts can manifest themselves in inspiration, persuasion, imitation, etc.

Many features of individual consciousness are very similar to those of social consciousness. At the same time the consciousness of the individual has its own specifics. The depth of penetration into reality, the ability to respond to the requirements of life makes it possible to single out such basic components of individual consciousness as sensory, rational and volitional. These components, of course, do not exhaust the entire wealth of man's consciousness, but constitute its principal elements which, to a varying degree, are brought into play in the struggle against alien ideologies.

All this means that social and individual consciousness is rather complicated both in structure and content. Being the subject of social creation, it is at the same time the recipient of extraneous influences sometimes of a negative character. These negative influences are particularly active when they come from the main antipode of humanism—imperialism with its ponderous propaganda machinery used in psychological warfare.

Having no true ideas, bourgeois ideological organs concentrate on the influence they exert in the sphere of common, day-to-day consciousness and especially in the sphere of social psychology. And in this sphere they have created a network of subversive activity which has come to be known as the psychological war.

Chapter 2

THE PHENOMENON OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

In March 1946, the leader of the British Tories, Winston Churchill gave a new impulse to the psychological war of imperialism, that inalienable adjunct of the Cold War. In that speech, studded with dramatic epithets, Churchill "warned the free world" that the East was threatening the very existence of civilisation, that humanity could be rolled back to the dark ages. According to Churchill, only the Anglo-Saxon nations could save Christian civilisation from "Red tyranny". The speech signaled the start of a campaign which soon developed into a psychological war against socialism waged by the entire capitalist world which decided to make another bid to "roll back communism".

In his book *Britain and the Cold War. 1941-1947*, professor Victor Rothwell of Edinburgh University wrote that the Cold War was rooted in a desire to clash Germany and the USSR, to reduce them to a position where the Anglo-Americans could step in and decide their fate. The Cold War is essentially an attempt to achieve with regard to the Soviet Union what was not achieved in the hot war.¹ This is the view of a British university professor who cannot by any stretch of imagination be suspected of being sympathetic to the USSR.

The ideological war against socialism was carefully planned. Back in 1946-1950, a number of anti-com-

¹ See Victor Rothwell, *Britain and the Cold War. 1941-1947*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1982.

munist organisations in the United States formulated concrete political and methodological directives for psychological warfare. The programme of the pro-fascist American Legion in 1947 pointed out that the need for psychological warfare against world communism was being dictated by the national interests of the United States and of the whole "free world". In July 1950, the Pentagon adopted a document (later approved by President Truman) which amounted to a plan for psychological warfare. This document essentially contended that all the psychological attacks meant to undermine the forces of peace, socialism and progress were part and parcel of imperialist state policy. The psychological war is an undeclared war, but the imperialist quarters are waging it with all the class fury and malice that they are capable of.

AIMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The psychological war is the brainchild of the imperialist bourgeoisie, because "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas",¹ because the bourgeoisie cannot retain its social status quo without using these ideas. This is why the psychological war of imperialism—as an ugly phenomenon in the life of society—is a *specific method, a specific way of corrupting the social consciousness of its opponents* in line with its ideological concepts and directives.

The very concept of psychological warfare in bourgeois sociology is used in both a broad and a narrow sense. In the broad sense—the psychological war is identified with the struggle for people's hearts and

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 59.

minds in general. For example, the American specialist in propaganda, Prof. Michael Choukas, holds that psychological warfare is a collection of measures of propaganda pressure on human consciousness in the spheres of ideology and human emotions. This by no means is a unique statement, as it largely shows the bourgeois understanding of the content and essence of psychological warfare. The well-known bourgeois theoreticians of psychological warfare—William Daugherty, Morris Janowitz, Paul Linebarger and others—describe it as a universal way of affecting all the spheres and elements of social consciousness. However, as a rule, psychological warfare in its broader sense is used only in the context of military-strategic concepts, which fact gives prominence to its special significance among other factors of modern warfare.

In its more common narrow interpretation of the word, psychological warfare means primarily exerting influence on social psychology. This, in the first place, stems from the loosely and broadly defined socio-psychological sphere in bourgeois sociology, and also from the trend towards the considerable psychologisation of intellectual processes taking place in different social communities and groups. The American authors of *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* write that the psychological complex of the human being is the most vulnerable of all. The US Army instructions on how to brainwash the personnel of friendly and hostile forces insist that psychological methods are the most effective of all for exercising ideological and political influence on the consciousness of people. In that the authors of these army instructions are far from original. The instructions for military propaganda issued by the nazi Army Command back in 1944 insisted that any man's psychology and his feelings are the most vulnerable as-

pect of his existence. This is why an appeal to the psychological aspect of consciousness, and not to consciousness in general, can yield better results.¹

Bourgeois propaganda-mongers concentrate most of their efforts on social psychology also because this sphere of consciousness has been studied in capitalist countries more fundamentally than others. The monopoly bourgeoisie has been essentially in control of social studies, fearing that the honest cognition of reality might prove dangerous. Paul Lafargue wrote back in his time that the bourgeoisie forbade its economists, philosophers, moralists, historians, sociologists and politicians to carry out impartial research into the social aspects of the world, because that ran counter to its class interests.² By channelling the efforts of scientists into psychological research, the bourgeoisie made the greatest possible use of its results. In the last century, capitalists used the recommendations of bourgeois scientists on questions of spiritual enslavement, brainwashing and disinformation of working people. For that they used methods taken from the old arsenal of psychological pressure: inculcation, "contagion", creation of "desirable" attitudes, and other methods. All that enabled the bourgeoisie to exert dominant influence on the minds of men.

In spite of its camouflage, bourgeois ideology which expresses the fundamental class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie does not always appeal to the working masses. Herbert Schiller, an UCLA professor, writes frankly in *The Mind Managers* that the "free world"

¹ See *Heil Beil! Flugblattpropaganda im zweiten Weltkrieg*, Hrsg. von Buchbender O., Schuh H., Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 1974, S. 36-37.

² Paul Lafargue, *Le déterminisme économique de Karl Marx*, V. Girard & E. Briere, Paris, 1909, p. 298.

does not have one single attractive ideology and therefore should turn to the psychological world of man, his feelings and emotions. He concludes that it is only with the help of the psychological phenomenon that the West can hope to manipulate the consciousness of many nations and countries. There are many such statements, including those made by high-ranking officials. All these utterances show that the bourgeoisie is trying to disseminate its ideas not only through the channels of theoretical consciousness but also, in fact even more often, through the channels of social psychology.

Bourgeois ideology cannot, without distorting the truth, facts and reality, come face to face with the ideology of scientific socialism. The imperialist propaganda-mongers believe that it would have greater chances of success if they act primarily through the *psychological channels*, thus clearing the way for bourgeois ideological views. All these actions of clearly ideological character are intended for softening up the world outlook of people in socialist society, for replacing socialist conviction with a bag of anti-socialist prejudices. This psychological emphasis in the spiritual class confrontation does not mean that the bourgeoisie underestimates the role of its own ideological subversive actions. What it actually does is carry out these ideological actions in conjunction with psychological warfare.

Hence, the so-called *psychological war is essentially a system of imperialism's ideological pressure upon the consciousness of people primarily through social psychology*. All these actions (psychological subversion, rumours, fudging of facts, disinformation, threats, muscle-power demonstration, etc.) are meant to bring psychological pressure to bear upon the enemy in order to weaken his morale and strength. The psychological

war, which is being waged rather separately from the Cold War and parallel with it, is a major part of the broader ideological struggle which, in turn, is one of the most fundamental forms of the class struggle. Another major distinction is the fact that the ideological struggle is meant to convince, whereas the psychological war is intended mainly to instil, and to "infect".

The imperialists carry on with their psychological war both in peace time and in war time. In *peace time*, it has a broader range of targets that include political, moral, legal and esthetic forms of consciousness, and invades the cultural sphere. The psychological war, directed at large groups of the population—industrial personnel, scientists, artists, writers, journalists, army personnel—is intended to undermine the political and moral strength of the ideological opponents. Now that rapid progress in the media has considerably increased the possibility of mutual ideological influence, when direct contacts have become massive, when scientific and cultural exchanges between the countries of the two systems have grown considerably, possibilities have increased for a still more direct confrontation between the two ideologies, socio-political views and the two ways of life. Certain ideological institutions of the bourgeoisie are trying to make the best possible use of this circumstance to strengthen their ideological and psychological subversions.

In peace time the ideological institutions of imperialism wage a psychological war with certain aims in mind. *First*, by introducing hostile ideas, views and notions into social and individual consciousness, the bourgeois propaganda-mongers are trying to soften up the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, to weaken the internationalist unity of the fraternal countries. One of the USIA's instructions says bluntly that its so-

called free information which the West is trying to disseminate in the communist-bloc countries must take the wind out of Marxist ideology. Therefore there is nothing surprising about the fact that all its radio programmes and printed matter intended for the socialist countries, as well as other subversive actions are aimed to achieve one thing: to weaken the socialist community spiritually and ideologically.

Second, the imperialist propaganda centres are using psychological warfare to disorientate the citizens of the socialist countries politically. Suffice it to say that the imperialists have set up a vast complex of political disinformation aimed at implanting into socialist consciousness some false or distorted ideas, alien views, illusions and myths. There are many big radio stations in the leading capitalist countries which beam hundreds of hours of programmes a day specifically to the socialist world. Michael Choukas frankly set forth the directives for this machine of psychological warfare. He wrote, for example, that radio-propaganda can turn a well-informed person into an ill-informed or dis-informed, and a man of conviction into a doubting Thomas.¹

Third, the psychological war waged by bourgeois propaganda institutions is aimed not only at softening the impact that communist ideals, the way of life and morals have on people, but also at replacing them with Western "values", such as individualism, selfishness, nationalism, cupidity, political indifference, scepticism and nihilism. To achieve their ends the Western propaganda-mongers bring into play the neatly packaged and labled ideological myths of personal freedoms, hu-

¹ See Michael Choukas, *Propaganda Comes of Age*, Washington, 1975.

man rights, genuine democracy in the West. These ideological saboteurs naturally say nothing that capitalism has brought forth fascism, that it breeds racism and nationalism. Nor do they say that capitalism is a sick society ridden with crime and unemployment, that it threatens humanity with devastating wars. The pharisees of the psychological war flaunt the consumer show-case of the "free world", and at the same time avoid speaking about the deep-lying reasons for social cataclysms, armed conflicts, the arms drive and other aspects of the crisis which is tightening its grip on the capitalist world.

Fourth, using the old stereotypes of psychological warfare, certain imperialist quarters are trying to scare Western capitalist society with allegations of Soviet aggressiveness. The numerous propaganda campaigns against socialism boil down to maintaining in the social consciousness of capitalist countries the idea that the Soviet Union poses a demoniac threat to the whole world. This is the main lever whereby the militarist forces bring pressure to bear upon the foreign policies of the imperialist nations. They play insidiously on the emotions of the petty and middle bourgeoisie which, due to its social character, cannot accept the principle of equal security for all countries, whether capitalist or socialist. This is why NATO's ideologues conclude that the West must maintain military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies. Based on the position-of-strength policy, this concept is extremely viable in the West. To make sure that it will continue to play its social role in the interests of the militarist quarters, the bourgeoisie needs anti-Sovietism—the political and ideological weapon of the most reactionary forces of our time.

Depending on a specific political event, these goals of

the psychological war are spotlighted, amplified and given character. For example, taking advantage of the Polish events, which are the internal matter of the Polish people and the Polish state, the USA and its NATO allies readjusted their foreign propaganda and psychological operations so as to discredit socialism in its entirety. These and similar activities show that ideological subversion directed against certain socialist countries is part of a large-scale offensive against the forces of progress, peace and socialism.

In *war time*, the imperialists carry on the psychological war primarily for the purpose of paralysing the will of the enemy forces to fight. All the ingredients of psychological warfare—disinformation, intimidation and panicky rumours—are used to put psychological pressure on army personnel and the population to stop resistance and to surrender.

The war in Vietnam in particular showed that in pursuance of their political aims the imperialists attach great importance to psychological means of warfare. For example, special psychological warfare units in the US Army put their main efforts into weakening the morale of the Vietnamese patriots. The methodological recommendations issued for these units specified measures to paralyse the enemy's will to resist by threatening to destroy him. Analysis of Western literature on psychological war and of the subversive activities of bourgeois propaganda makes it possible to determine its principal functions.

One is to *disorientate politically* both social and individual consciousness. Using this function in peace time, certain bourgeois propaganda centres are trying to rob people in the socialist countries of their clear-cut class and political guidelines and ideals. To distort the truth out of existence, to inculcate quasi-truths and false

stereotypes in the minds of people, to "replace" their socialist convictions and principles with a bourgeois set of values are the aims of this function of psychological warfare. A French specialist in the theory of psychological warfare, Pierre Nord, refers to it as a weapon of intellectual pressure, as aggression against human reason. This intellectual and cultural pressure could be used to disorientate people so much that they would not be able to discharge their civic duties the way they are expected to. And this is exactly what the inspirers of psychological warfare are out to achieve.

Another function of psychological warfare, a function which is particularly in evidence in the course of an armed struggle, is *to undermine the moral and political unity of the population and the armed forces of the enemy*, and immobilise the will to resist. This function sums up the efforts of all the agencies of subversive imperialist propaganda to achieve its main objective: to paralyse the consciousness of people, to weaken their will to fight, to generate feelings of uncertainty and fear. Here the function of disorientation is at its most active, because it is given a distinctly military emphasis. To discharge this function the United States and other NATO countries have created special units of psychological warfare complete with well-trained personnel and sophisticated technical facilities. Even in peace time this function has apparently been given top priority. For example, beginning in 1980 Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have sharply expanded their broadcasts for the armed personnel of the socialist countries.

There is still another function performed by the imperialist psychological war: *to implant in the consciousness of people in the socialist countries the values of the "free world"*: individualism, social egoism, clerical views, consumerism, moral nihilism and political cynic-

ism. The organisers of the psychological war unquestionably regard this function as a way to plant in the socialist social individual consciousness such ideas and such "values" that could weaken the convictions of Soviet people and in fact distort their whole philosophy of life. This strategic direction of the psychological war is in substance undisguised intervention in the social consciousness of the socialist countries. The imperialists are trying to cover up the subversive character of these actions with allegations about "free exchange of ideas and information" which in real terms means the expansion of the imperialist propaganda monopolies. This function shows the increasing ideologisation of the foreign policy of the imperialist states. In the past the United States, for instance, carried out many of its ideological and psychological actions primarily via the so-called "public relations", non-government organisations, whereas now it does not so much as attempt to camouflage the subversive "impulses" coming directly from Capitol Hill.

The present-day system of subversion in the hands of the imperialists is a manifestation of the crisis of imperialism and of its ideological weakness. Lenin's words that "when the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie *everywhere and always* resorts to the most outrageous lies and slander"¹ are as timely today as when they were written in 1914. By giving subversive actions the status of national policy, the capitalist social system demonstrates its debility of spirit. When a state, a society uses lies and disinformation as its main ideological weapon, it is easy to see how defective and historically backward are its moral values and ideas. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1972, p. 485.

psychological war per se—as an instrument of the spiritual aggression of imperialism—is an expression of the historical insufficiency of the capitalist system that feeds on social lies.

THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

Looking back into history we can easily see that at all stages of the development of antagonistic societies the class struggle served as a tremendous driving force. How should this be explained? Ever since the distant times when society first split into classes they have been waging an incessant struggle which the ruling classes regard as the way to perpetuate themselves in power, and the working people as the only way to achieve emancipation. The working masses, the bearers of all that is progressive, have always opposed the relations of inequality, social iniquity, economic and spiritual oppression. The growing conflict between the productive forces (which, as a rule, develop faster) and the relations of production exacerbated the struggle between the classes. The revolutionary struggle destroys all that is old, obsolete, rejected and devalued by history, and at the same time creates new forms and structures of social life.

In present-day conditions, the bourgeois ruling quarters do not always succeed in smoothing over, softening and blurring the class antagonisms of the “free world”. In an effort to obtain profits and superprofits, the monopoly bourgeoisie makes the fullest possible use of the state machinery, the apparatus of coercion and various means of ideological pressure. The monopoly bourgeoisie stops at nothing in its attempts to hold back the revolutionary process and to counter action by the work-

ing people in their countries. Every time the rule of monopoly capital is at risk, the imperialists make a desperate bid to stay in power, casting off all claims to democracy. They trample upon the sovereignty of states, upon laws in their own countries, let alone humanity. Slander, befuddlement of the people, economic blockade, sabotage, the deliberate creation of famine and economic dislocation, bribery and terrorism, the murder of political leaders, fascist-style pogroms are the stock-in-trade of the counter-revolution today.

All these contrivances, however, cannot arrest the growing scope and ease the acuteness of the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries. The raging political conflict in these countries shows no sign of abating. This growing socio-economic and political struggle is reflected in the cultural and intellectual spheres. *The substance of this confrontation is the struggle of the two antithetic world outlooks: the bourgeois and the socialist.*

The bourgeoisie needs more and more ideological "camouflage", "substantiation" and vindication of its anti-communist policies which lead to an ever-growing threat of war. It also needs to justify the offensive of the military-industrial complex against the bourgeois-democratic freedoms and rights of man in the capitalist world. Significantly, the capitalist class is using the increasingly sophisticated technical possibilities to manipulate social consciousness, to introduce into it all kinds of spurious propaganda stereotypes such as the myth of the "Soviet military threat" and the "violation" of human rights in the socialist countries.

Imperialism is making wide use of anti-communism which is not only its principal ideology, but also its *main ideological and political weapon*. Anti-communism is the fundamental class concept of the bourgeoisie that

expresses its hatred of everything communist, socialist and Soviet. The ideological doctrine of anti-communism has its own distinctive theoretical (ideological) and empirical (psychological) aspects.

"Theoretical" anti-communism lays claim to being scientific and operates primarily in the sphere of political consciousness, philosophy, sociology, history and law. The theoreticians of anti-communism never tire of "refuting" Marxism-Leninism, of trying to "prove" its "obsolescence" and "irrelevance". It is "theoretical" anti-communism that has over the past several years brought forth an assortment of anti-Marxist doctrines, such as the "convergence theory", the "deideologisation theory" and the "industrial society theory". These are the product of "strategic" anti-communism, as they sum up the long-term goals of imperialism to undermine existing socialism. Typically, every new US President, on moving into the White House Oval Office, gives his policy a flashy new name, similar to those generated at advertising agencies, which is supposed to sum up the strategic course of the new administration. It was the "Fair Deal" under Harry Truman, "New Frontiers" under John F. Kennedy, the "Great Society" under Lyndon B. Johnson, "Law and Order" under Richard Nixon and "New Horizons" under Jimmy Carter. The present US President, Ronald Reagan, has said that his aim is to revive a mighty America.

If we sort through all this propaganda chaff, we shall see that on the foreign policy plane these "programmes" are aimed at waging a fierce anti-communist struggle. All US-born foreign policy declarations, statements, and doctrines have an anti-communist stuffing which the paid ideologists of imperialism are trying to "develop", "substantiate", "detail and particularise" in

their theories and concepts. In its substance, theoretical anti-communism expresses the deep class hatred that the imperialists have for existing socialism.

There is also *empirical, or "vulgar" anti-communism* whose product is used primarily in the psychological war of imperialism. Western propaganda centres are trying, on the level of common, day-to-day consciousness, to spread all kinds of lies about Soviet life, to revive national prejudice and proprietary instincts and crudely distort certain aspects of life in socialist society. Vulgar anti-communism is more flexible and responds more quickly to world events; its actions are rather tactical than strategic. According to professional psychological warriors, reports, facts and news that do not require much thinking to understand and remember are meant to open the minds of ordinary people to the views of anti-communism, to its way of thinking. Popular in form and easy to understand, these anti-communist stereotypes must, in the words of Western propaganda-mongers, make them accessible to those for whom they are meant. Theoretical anti-communism is intended for a limited circle of people (mostly professional groups), whereas empirical anti-communism is used as a staple diet for millions of people; this is anti-communism for "mass consumption".

Empirical, "vulgar" anti-communism emerged in all its "glory" in the ideological war that Western psychological warfare centres waged (and are still waging) against socialist Poland. In 1982, the West German Rote Blatter Publishers released a collection of articles and documents about the intervention of the United States and NATO in the affairs of this sovereign country. This book compiled by the activists of a local Marxian student union cites many facts showing that the cultural and intellectual aggression against Poland

is being carried on with the help of slander, deception, intimidation, delusion, instigation. Things have gone so far, write the authors, that the arrant anti-communist Franz Josef Strauss publicly declared his personal solidarity with the Polish workers who are trying to improve socialism in their country. This bitter enemy of socialism and the working class thinks it possible to garble the truth and for this purpose puts on the garb of a defender of socialism...

The most vicious form of anti-communism is anti-Sovietism rooted deeply as it is in the class hatred that boiled over after the 1917 October Revolution. Back in 1919, the authorities in the United States set up the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, which has since become a leading centre of anti-Sovietism. The sponsors of this institution set it the task of lancing open the "evils" of Marxism-Leninism, of finding the most acceptable forms of struggle with Bolshevism. In later years, several hundred such institutions and centres have proliferated in the capitalist world to spread class hatred of existing socialism, draw up plans for subversive actions, and train anti-Sovietisers of all stripes and colours. Anti-Sovietism has now become an ideology and a kind of religion of the bourgeois elite in the imperialist states. *Anti-Sovietism is the socio-political basis of the psychological war* which the NATO circles are now waging against the socialist community.

Statements made by President Reagan and his aides show that the US Administration is set on raising chimerical and visionary hopes for winning out over socialism. In actual fact, Reagan's foreign policy statements, which reflect the interests of America's big business, amount to a sweeping programme for a new crusade against socialism, and primarily against the Soviet Union. This new crusade, as is clear from American

leaders' speeches and actions, pursues quite concrete strategic aims.

These aims which were to all intents and purposes voiced in Reagan's policy statements show, first, the adventuristic, distorted political thinking of their authors and, second, that such concepts can put world peace at risk. This crusade can go only one way: from the Cold War to a nuclear "hot" war. *One should never forget that while those who inspire the anti-Soviet concoctions would be unable to win a nuclear war, they can let it loose upon the world.* Therein lies the danger of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Of course, these statements do not openly call for a nuclear confrontation. However, the propaganda camouflage aimed at lulling public opinion in the United States and other NATO countries is but a repetition of the old hackneyed formula that peace could be assured only by making ready for war, which is the same as doing a tight-rope act between war and peace, listing further and further in the direction of a nuclear conflict. The USA and the other NATO countries turned down the repeated proposals of the USSR to sign accords on mutual renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons and other similarly constructive proposals. This position clearly shows that, with anti-Sovietism dominating their actions, the US ruling elite does not regard peace and life as the highest and the most precious of human values. This attitude is getting more and more frightening for the Americans who, as they listen to Reagan, can easily imagine our planet turned into an asphalt desert. In an article "Thinking About the Unthinkable", the *Time* magazine (March 29, 1982) quoted Stephen Klineberg, professor of sociology at Rice University in Houston as saying: "Reagan has terrified not only the Russians, but the Americans, too."

Malicious anti-Sovietism fostered by the class hatred of the bourgeoisie towards socialism bears down upon political thinking which is unable to fathom the full meaning of the risk of the militarist policy of the US Administration. It is true, though, that the rising anti-war movement makes it promise to "fight for peace" and to work for "controllable disarmament". What makes anti-communism and anti-Sovietism particularly dangerous is that these are the official views of those who run the capitalist world.

GNOSEOLOGY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Psychological warfare professionals cannot but take into consideration that its effectiveness depends mostly on how far they can succeed in turning anti-truth into a conviction. And this in turn depends on the ability of bourgeois propaganda centres to implant false stereotypes into the consciousness of people. Radio, the press and other media of penetration into socialist social consciousness are forever looking for roundabout ways to "get in through the back door" by pulling the tog of truth over threadbare lies, by replacing real arguments with quasi-arguments, by presenting real aspirations of people as illusory, and by counterposing personal interests to public interests. And all that is being done by working on human psychology. The bourgeois theoretician Jacques Ellul summed up the substance of this problem saying that psychology is meant to catch a person in the snares of propaganda. This brief formula largely expresses the gnoseological substance of the psychological war of imperialism.

The "psychological massage" is just another form of the massive pressure brought to bear on the emotional

and sensual sphere of the individual, a group of people and a social community by implanting (suggesting) a certain idea or emotion. In this sense *suggestion is the key element of the gnoseological mechanism* of the psychological war of imperialism. As is known, suggestion fights shy of logic and does not concern itself with arguments, but, instead, appeals to feelings, instincts and prejudices. It is intended for an uncritical comprehension by man of external influences upon his consciousness.

Suggestion becomes all the more effective if the "authoritative source" of information is named and if the target of propaganda is properly "emoted" to make him emotionally receptive. The target may be more open to suggestion if the said information contains elements that affect his personal interests. Best comprehended is information which is presented as something quite new. Using suggestion and other psychological methods, any strong sentiment can be turned into anger, personal resourcefulness—into mass cowardice, friction—into distrust, prejudice—into rage, writes Linebarger.¹

As a concept, psychological warfare is meant to pressure a person into uncritical perception of information, reports, facts and data on a particular situation. The whole idea of suggestion rests on the assumption that the information being planted in socialist individual and social consciousness cannot to all intents and purposes be verified. As a rule, radio stations dealing out anti-Soviet information refer to some mysterious "authoritative sources", "new information" and non-existent persons in an effort to make their broadcasts

¹ See Paul M. A. Linebarger, *Psychological Warfare*, Infantry Journal Press, Washington, 1948.

sound authentic and therefore credible. Such information can draw a response from impressionable people unable to think independently and logically, and also from those who have no real convictions or beliefs of their own. Another group of people are those who are not sure of themselves and of their knowledge.

USIA's psychological warfare instructions recommend that references to the competence and authoritativeness of their sources, to their "impartiality and objectivity" be made more frequently. Acting in line with these prescriptions, the perpetrators of subversive psychological actions in their oral and written reports often appeal to the opinions of diplomats, generals, scientists and other specialists and carefully sift through what they said and wrote. For example, when the Soviet research ship *Musson* called at Hamburg, the West German newspaper *Bild-Zeitung* published allegations by a radio-electronics specialist to the effect that the Soviet ship, with its tall antennas, was on a spying mission. That "canard" was immediately picked up by other newspapers which insisted that the *Musson* had put in at Hamburg to eavesdrop on a conference of NATO nuclear planners which was about to start there. Strangely enough, the media seemed unconcerned about the fact that a few days before the conference the ship had left the port. But the damage had been done: bourgeois propaganda had succeeded in making the man in the street suspicious of the very fact that the ship had been there at all. To strengthen this negative impression the bourgeois media supplied more and more bits of disinformation and slander.

If repeated, such propaganda attacks gradually form a certain stereotype which is then constantly fed to the listener, the spectator and the reader. Stereotypes about "Moscow's aggressiveness", "totalitarianism", "com-

munist infiltration", "Soviet intervention", "Western democracy", "free society", and many others are served to millions of people. One of the peculiarities of these stereotypes is their dependence on the emotional state of their recipients. Propaganda stereotypes are a superficial reflexion of reality and treat all facts with one and the same yardstick. At the same time stereotypes create a stable pattern in which cliches dominate over knowledge. Hence there is nothing surprising about the fact that a considerable number of listeners, spectators and readers in the capitalist world, who have been conditioned by stereotypes, take uncritically much of the political information about the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Voice of America's programmes or, say, articles printed in West Germany's *Bild* and *Stern* are literally stuffed with stereotypes. Any new peace initiative is called "Moscow propaganda", Israel's aggression against Lebanon is an "act of self-defence against terrorists", the growing anti-missile movement and the movement against nuclear war is, of course, "Moscow's conspiracy", the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party to normalise the situation in Poland are a "return to the old totalitarian forms of government", etc. The readers, spectators and listeners in the West are gradually getting used to this stereotyped information and are even beginning to feel a need for such reading matter and radio programmes as their staple diet. Such "needs" are always satisfied and more. For example, *The Stars and Stripes* alleged on March 27, 1984, that "the 4,500-ton *Balzam*... the Soviet navy's biggest modern spy ship is sailing along the Pacific coast presumably to eavesdrop on US Navy operations and possibly on civilian communications". Reports like this appear in the American press every day. The idea is that an oft-

repeated lie may eventually begin to sound true.

Using suggestion and disinformation, those who are carrying on the psychological war are at the same time trying to win the trust and sympathies of the potential consumers of their product. This is primarily achieved by emotional means, and by catering to the interests and expectations of a concrete audience, group or stratum of people, overwhelming them with sensational facts, or just hitherto unknown facts. Western radio and television announcers use the laws of human communication to spread bourgeois information and to bring it home to the listener. We could very well apply to these specialists in psychological warfare the words that Marx used to describe the British bourgeois MP Gladstone: "Polished blandness, empty profundity, unction not without poisonous ingredients, the velvet paw not without the claws."¹

It has been proven time and again that the less informed a person is, the more he is open to the information suggested to him. We are, of course, talking only about the gnoseological possibilities of suggestion. A person who is mature both ideologically and socially, who has a keen "class instinct", will not fall victim to the insinuations of radio-propagandists. A person who has a scientifically based world outlook would trust arguments, logic and concrete facts rather than ephemeral, if superficially plausible contentions.

The Western reader or listener who does not know the truth about existing socialism is quite another matter. His ignorance sometimes enables the bourgeois press to perpetrate acts of disinformation which are stunning in their cynicism. For example, after Yuri

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, 1980, p. 231.

Gagarin's historic flight in outer space, the American press went to great lengths to cast doubt upon the indubitable by questioning the authenticity of Gagarin's pioneering venture and referring to the misgivings and skepticism that had possessed many scientists. The inventions they spread serve as a good example of disinformation intended for uncritical perception, for ignorant and ill-informed people. It goes without saying that the American press barons never doubted the authenticity of Gagarin's space exploit. But the social aim of the bourgeois mass media is to garble the truth that may not be to the advantage of the bourgeois system. By distorting and concealing information the instruments of psychological warfare are perpetrating acts of piracy in radio broadcasting, in the press and in personal contacts.

For bourgeois propaganda-mongers the means they use are of secondary importance, the main aim being to present any fact or event in the light that would best serve the purpose of the creators of such "truths". Bourgeois media theoreticians define this principle roughly as follows: what is important in political practice is not what is genuinely true, but what seems to be true. This formulation of the substance of psychological warfare is as cynical as it is precise.

In some cases, the militarist quarters—in their effort to fan up chauvinist sentiment in their country and to vitiate the moral fibre of the enemy—may resort to so-called psychological contamination when a person subconsciously yields to psychical conditions of exaltation, nationalist hysteria, political psychosis, religious ecstasy, etc. This psychical state characterised by a strong emotional charge was an indispensable ingredient of fascism, samuraiism, the "cultural revolution" in China, and other historical phenomena.

The bourgeoisie make particularly wide use of psychological contamination for building up tensions, for dramatising events so that they can use them as an excuse for political action. The most typical form of psychological contamination is political psychosis. In the 1950s, the United States practised "nuclear alarms" to stun the man in the street into believing that the threat is imminent, that the treacherous "Reds" were poised for an attack. James Forrestal, former US Defense Secretary and one of the inspirers of such psychoses, himself became the victim of just such an irrational state of mind which the bourgeois propaganda media had called forth. Forrestal drove himself insane with ideas about the "Red menace" and actually killed himself by defenestration. When society is in the grip of a political psychosis, reason and common sense give way to instinct, passion and base emotions.

Political psychosis is created in pursuance of certain very definite goals. In their own countries, the bourgeoisie seek to bring together the public at large in order to secure their approval of the policies of the ruling elite. In the socialist countries, say the bourgeois theoreticians of psychological warfare, such a state of mass psychosis could be conjured up only in the course of a "hot war" by frightening and intimidating the population. Thus, political psychosis to which psychological warfare experts resorted to in the past and might still be resorting to in the future shows that the bourgeoisie appeals to the subconscious, to irrational dark passions. That psychological influence is all the stronger and all the more effective when directed through emotional channels was well known to nazi propagandists, too. They followed Hitler's precept stated in *Mein Kampf*: "The aim of propaganda is to bear upon mob sentiment and possibly upon so-called

reason." This methodological precept of imperialist propaganda is still in use by the present-day theoreticians and practitioners of psychological warfare.

The ulterior motive remains what it was in Hitler's days: to crowd out the truth, to replace reality with illusion. This methodology is aimed at purely sensual perception of information. If a person does not have firm convictions and scientific world outlook, he can easily be trapped. His inability to think logically, to analyse facts may reduce his thinking to the uncritical perception of alien ideas and views. Such a person may easily allow himself, in Lenin's words, "*to be depressed by certain sad and deplorable facts, and lose the ability soberly to appraise the forces*".¹

Anyone who comes in contact with bourgeois propaganda can see for himself that the Western centres of psychological warfare are in the final analysis concerned not so much with the dissemination of the truth as with the spread of information which they think can serve their ends. To achieve their aim, these propaganda centres carry out numerous actions of psychological warfare, which is nothing but aggression against human reason.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 506.

Chapter 3

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR AND HISTORY

People have long noticed that the outcome of war largely depends on the morale of the troops. Even in antiquity, army generals and philosophers pointed out that what was important was not only the morale of their own army but also a good knowledge of the morale of the enemy. Back in those days the first attempts were made to bring psychological pressure to bear upon the other side, using intimidation to weaken its morale. Those attempts, however, were few and had little effect.

The writings of army generals and military leaders, such as Clausewitz, Moltke, Joffre in the West, and Suvorov, Kutuzov, Nakhimov, Dragomirov and Mikhnevich in Russia, contain many original ideas about the need to weaken the moral potential of the enemy in war. Many of them pointed out quite correctly that the psychological weapon, without actually killing the enemy, may make him weak, irresolute and unsure of himself. This creates prerequisites for victory on the battle field. Suvorov had long since said that morale is a long-term weapon and it is not easy for any general to wield this weapon, especially with regard to weakening the fighting spirit of the enemy. Last century many army generals and military strategists discussed at length things like "victory of the spirit", "moral pressure upon the enemy", rightly guessing how important the moral weapon would soon be. But it was not until the

twentieth century, when imperialism was seriously pressed by the new socialist socio-economic formation, that the confrontation of the two antithetic systems in the cultural and intellectual spheres reached its highest point.

HISTORICAL SOURCES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

Legend has it that in biblical days Gideon resorted to various kinds of military ruses to frighten his enemies of whom he had many. Once he succeeded in confusing his enemy so much that he lost his nerve and struck at his own troops. Ancient manuscripts tell us that before starting a new war the Romans assiduously spread all sorts of rumours about the superiority of their legions, about their unrivaled courage, and about their unbending resolve to win. Already at that time there was a large variety of ways to bear upon the enemy, some of them very ingenious. Plutarch's writings contain this instructive historical episode. When the news reached Rome that the Etruscan king was harbouring an attack on the Romans, the latter sent a patrician, Mucius Scaevola, to the Etruscans. He tried hard to dissuade the Etruscans from making war on Rome, and promised to bring gifts to the warlike enemy. But the Etruscan king was unmoved: "Rome must fall!" he said over and over again. Thereupon Mucius Scaevola, seeing that he had exhausted all his arguments, stretched out his arm over the bonfire and burned it off in cold blood. The Etruscan king was so astounded by the strength of will of the Roman messenger that his resolve to attack Rome was shaken: he himself had seen how strong of spirit and how courageous were those whom he wanted to attack.

This ingenuous ancient legend contains a deep philosophical message: the strong morale of one's own troops is also an important factor that can paralyse the will of the enemy.

We shall cite another example from the writings of another ancient historian Herodotus. He writes in his *History* that in order to prevent the Hellenes, who were then ruled by the King Xerxes of Persia, from attacking them, the Athenians appealed to them with words that they struck out in stones around a spring where the Ionians went for water. These inscriptions read: "Men of Ionia, you do wrong in fighting against your fathers and helping to enslave Greece. Rather, therefore, come over to us or if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest and entreat the Carians to do the same. But if neither of these things is possible, and you are bound by too strong a necessity, yet in action, when we are engaged, behave ill on purpose, remembering that you are descended from us and that the enmity of the barbarians against us originally sprang from you." Herodotus writes further that the Athenians were acting in the hope that, on the one hand, the fellow countrymen would come over to their side and, on the other, that sooner or later their appeal would come to Xerxes' knowledge and he would just not let them go to battle against the Athenians.

It is easy to see that the Athenians' ulterior motive was to considerably weaken the morale of the Persian troops and to force the Persian king to have second thoughts about committing some of his combat troops. This, in fact, is an ancient version of sabotage. On the whole, slave-holding society had some elements of psychological warfare as a means of weakening the enemy's morale. In fact, the psychological warfare of that

time¹ was a military ruse and did not have clearly class overtones, because it showed primarily in the struggle between societies with similar social organisations.

In the epoch of feudalism the moral pressure brought to bear upon the enemy takes a distinctly religious form and plays the role of the dominant ideology of those days. The ruling elite in peace time, and especially in war time, fought against political opponents under the banner of struggle against heresy, for the purity of the faith. Pressure upon the armed forces of warring monarchs was exerted by the dissemination of written and oral reports listing all possible celestial and earthly retributions that could fall upon the heads of those who came out against the true faith. The long period of the Holy Inquisition, Reformation and the spread of Catholicism in Europe saw the emergence of various religious dogmas, postulates and appeals which were relevant to a particular period in history and which were inculcated in the masses of people and in the army. However, all these religious concepts were far removed from truth. Stefan Zweig, referring to those remote times, noted aptly that "the truth was so thickly interspersed with lies, and facts were so thoroughly commingled with inventions that it was actually possible to substantiate any point of view".² The opponents in the political and armed struggle made wide use of religious falsifications and denunciatory pamphlets. In the seventeenth century, Pope Gregory XV issued a papal bull in which he informed all the faithful

¹ The term "psychological warfare" emerged, of course, many centuries later, in 1941. Yet the term fits well to describe the given situation.

² Stefan Zweig, *Maria Stuart*, Herbert Reichner Verlag, Wien, 1935, S. 8.

Catholics that a special body, the Congregation of the Propaganda, would be vested with the job of spreading religious ideas and opposing dissent.

Everything that was proclaimed worthy of the faith was put under the protection of the Church, and those who were proclaimed the enemies of God were ostracised and even put to death. Fear, mystification and obfuscation were used by the Church and secular authorities for fostering hatred, humility and fanaticism. The very rumours about impending reprisals and retribution were enough to paralyse the will of people to resist.

After the new capitalist socio-economic formation took over from feudalism, the ideological struggle between warring groups of countries, and also between the exploiters and the exploited assumed new qualities.

First, the proletariat was now for the first time equipped with a truly scientific ideology which took shape in the middle of the nineteenth century. Actions taken by working people against their class oppressors were more meaningful than before. The antagonism between bourgeois ideology and communist ideology marked a deep watershed between the class interests of capital and the working people.

Second, the struggle of ideas that accompanied political clashes and military campaigns was now carried on with the help of the press and later, in the twentieth century, with the help of radio. The rapid development of printing facilities in the nineteenth century, and especially early in the twentieth century, increased the possibilities of bringing information directly to its target. Public opinion, openness and publicity, manipulation of consciousness had such a strong effect on people's minds that neither statesmen, nor military leaders could ignore it. Napoleon, for example, once said that

“four newspapers could do the enemy more evil than an army a hundred thousand men”.¹ The ruling class could afford to falsify facts and events, keep silent about events that they would rather did not take place at all and issue deliberate disinformation. The press has turned into a powerful weapon in the bourgeoisie’s class struggle and was from now on used in wars generated by capitalism.

The First World War of 1914-1918 was the first military conflict where printed matter was used to weaken enemy morale. It marked a new chapter in the history of the psychological war that the imperialist coalitions were waging against each other. The Anglo-Franco-Russian and the Austrian-German-Italian coalitions made wide use of social, national and religious demagoguery among the broad masses of people in order to heighten chauvinism and jingoism in their respective countries. Each one of these coalitions sought to portray its own participation in the war as a defensive action it was forced to take. The social and class mendacity of the bourgeoisie was meant to conceal the true causes of the war which were rooted in the exploiter mode of production, in inter-imperialist contradictions and in a desire to re-divide the world.

As the war dragged on, the leaders of these two coalitions felt it necessary to increase psychical pressure upon the enemy. The headquarters of the belligerent armies set up special departments and sections whose job it was to launch a war of words, to subject the enemy to political agitation. Britain was particularly active in conducting psychological war with the help of printed matter. The British government issued millions of

¹ Quoted in: Rene-Henri Wust, *La guerre psychologique*, Librairie Payot, Lausanne, 1954, p. 14.

leaflets which it dropped from aircraft and air-balloons. It opened special centres which fed British versions of the situation at the front to many newspapers and magazines published in other countries. The British government put out a special illustrated magazine, films about the war, and information bulletins.

The French Command laid special stress on the dissemination of leaflets among enemy troops and civilians. The French Army propaganda service dropped about 30 million leaflets over German cities and troop concentrations during the First World War. At the end of the war the first steps were made to coordinate the Entente's propaganda efforts via a service specially instituted for demoralising enemy troops. In that propaganda war Russia took a much more modest part in view of her technical insufficiency. Nevertheless, the psychological war waged by the Entente countries played a part in the defeat of Kaiser Germany and her allies. On her part, too, Germany tried to carry on her own war against the Franco-Anglo-Russian coalition, making wide use of intimidation, deception and disinformation.

On the whole, despite a fairly wide use of the printed methods of disinformation, the psychological war did not play any major role in demoralising the belligerent armies. This applies particularly to German propaganda which was noted for its blunt and clumsy methods. Nevertheless, the First World War was also the first in the sense of the wide use of subversion against the morale of the civilian population and enemy troops. For the first time the belligerents set up special army propaganda units; facilities were invented for spreading printed agitation; special "war of words" departments were set up whose actions were in some cases rather impressive.

However, no government department in any country at that time carried on organised counter-propaganda to offset enemy actions. Actually, they were a great deal more concerned with anti-war, anti-imperialist sentiments among their own troops. Such sentiments were aroused, in particular, by agitation work and propaganda literature disseminated in Russia by the Bolsheviks at the front. This ideological danger caused much concern among the authorities and among military leaders, much more than the enemy propaganda.

The psychological war was at its fiercest when imperialism clashed with the new system that had shortly before emerged in Russia—socialism. The ideological confrontation, including the confrontation in the psychological sphere, reflected the deep class antagonism of the two antithetical social structures.

CONFRONTATION WITH NAZISM

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against German nazism (1941-1945) put to the test the social and state system and the socialist economy of the world's first state of workers and peasants, all the social and political institutions of the country. The war also put tremendous pressure on the spiritual strength of the multinational Soviet state, its devotion to the ideals of communism.

This most devastating of all wars in the history of humankind disclosed in full measure the laws, discovered by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, that govern the prosecution and outcome of any war. One of these laws explains the dependence of the success of the fighting on the maturity of the people's social consciousness, on the strength of their ideology, on their capacity to go

through the crucible of war without losing their will to win. Lenin formulated this law in these words: "In the final analysis, victory in any war depends on the spirit animating the masses that spill their own blood on the field of battle."¹

The political objectives of a war, which epitomise the interests of certain classes, stem from relevant ideological doctrines. The ruling classes of the exploiter states make wide use of ideological camouflage, demagoguery in order to conceal the true aims of the war they have let loose, to screen its anti-popular, unjust and predatory character, whereas the side that carries on a just war does not need all that. The working classes of the socialist states who are compelled to fight a war against the imperialist aggressor, have clear-cut just goals: to defend socialism, to defeat the aggressor, to assure favourable external conditions, through military victory, for building a socialist society. "We can wage war because the masses know what they are fighting for,"² wrote Lenin. The Marxist-Leninist ideas about the war enable the individual, the working class, the entire nation and its army to define—clearly and from the class positions—their concrete ideological and practical attitude to it. And this is extremely important, because conviction in the just character of the war boosts the morale of the fighting masses.³

In the course of the fierce confrontation, in the most dramatic days and months of the struggle, Soviet people never lost their profound conviction in the final victory over the enemy, they never lost their social optimism, and their faith in the wisdom of their leader-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 66.

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 137.

ship never once wavered. This socialist conviction, which sums up the profound unity of personal and public interests, sustained the Soviet people through the worst trials of the war and strengthened their will to win.

In their preparations for a blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union the nazis thought they would shock the Soviet people, paralyse and break their will and in this way would gain another easy victory. From the experience of their campaigns in the West, the nazis knew very well that the psychic sphere of consciousness could be suppressed. However, they could not have expected that the ideological foundation of Soviet people would be so firm. Instead of spiritual weakness, the enemy came up against tremendous moral strength, against a partisan movement unprecedented in scope; instead of conflicts between different ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, the nazis encountered the monolithic internationalist unity of the Soviet nation.

No other war in military history gave so many examples of infinite selflessness, courage and heroism. Readiness for self-sacrifice became the norm, and it stemmed not from fanaticism, and not from a blind exaltation of spirit, but from a deeply felt desire to do everything possible and even impossible to defend socialist society. Hans Friessner, a former Hitler general, once admitted that "the Soviet soldier was deeply aware of the political ideas he was fighting for. I saw with my own eyes how young Red Army men, when there was no way out, blew themselves up with hand-grenades."¹ Many bourgeois writers who take a biased view of the entire course of the last war, its causes and conse-

¹ Hans Friessner, *Verratene Schlachten*, Holsten Verlag, Hamburg, 1956, S. 242-243.

quences, have nevertheless admitted that Hitler's plans for the Soviet people's surrender after a devastating surprise attack and a sweeping psychological war, failed to produce the expected results. In a book of reminiscences one former nazi officer admits that the psychological onslaught upon Soviet officers and men failed to play the role assigned to it. The stiff fight that the Red Army men had put up gave no reason to say that they had lost their nerve.

The ideas that were uppermost in the minds of Soviet people provided the foundation for historical optimism, for selfless social activity, for the understanding of their responsibility for the future. Both when the enemy was on the approaches to Moscow, and at that great moment of triumph when the banner of victory was hoisted over the Reichstag, the minds of Soviet people were not beclouded by feelings of irrepressible revenge. In any, even the most complicated situations of that war, the spiritual and moral make-up of the Soviet soldier was one of humaneness and clarity of the political aims of the socialist state, of inexhaustible optimism, of profound internationalism and patriotism.

Marxist-Leninist ideology not only helped Soviet people fight the aggressor but also served as a *specific spiritual weapon*. This weapon was simultaneously a system of methods for political agitation and propaganda, for influencing the consciousness and feelings of the enemy troops and civilian population. These ideological instruments were used to achieve two aims at once: to strengthen the fighting spirit of the own armed forces, the spirit of their own population, and at the same time to weaken the morale of the opposite side. In the course of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people came face to face with the reactionary ideology which had no match in history for its social cynicism.

The fascists regarded that war not only as a political tool for enslaving the Soviet and other peoples, for destroying their statehood and their cultural gains, but also for extirpating the communist ideology. The nazi leaders did not even try to conceal this aim. In one of his radio speeches Hitler said bluntly that the question at issue was not a military conflict between countries, but a gigantic battle between nations and races in the course of which one world outlook was to destroy the other. When the flames of war spread over vast territories, the nazi leaders sought to uproot the communist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist ideology in the most barbarous and ineffectual way, that is by killing people.

To destroy the communist world outlook, the nazis built a giant war machine and a ponderous apparatus of "total propaganda" which cynically manipulated the consciousness of millions of Germans and sought to turn all the so-called non-Aryans in the nazi-occupied countries into deaf-and-dumb unthinking slaves. Today many specialists of psychological warfare in the West regard the nazi experience in this field as very valuable and use it for developing theories, techniques and methods of fighting for people's hearts and minds. Incidentally, Goebbels' diaries have been published in a voluminous edition in the United States. In these the nazi propaganda chief describes the fascist methods of ideological aggression.

The ideology of fascism which constituted the theoretical and political foundation of the military doctrine of German imperialism is the most extremist variety of bourgeois ideology. Theoretically, fascism is rooted in mysticism, and in irrational forms of thinking which were favoured by the bearers of traditional Prussian militarism. Nazi ideology is very contradictory

and eclectic, stemming from the romanticised history of ancestors, from historical falsifications, the cult of brute force and from the apologia of the Aryan superman. The ideology of fascism which is idealistic and reactionary in its gnoseological substance, attached much importance to religious belief in the divine destiny of nazism. Many postulates of fascist ideology were deeply "psychologised". Those were the nazi dogmas about the "superman", the role played by the will in achieving goals, about the importance of hatred in the consciousness of a person, etc. The so-called "commandments of the Aryan" said that the main features of a true superman were cruelty, mercilessness and hatred for all non-Aryans. Psychologisation of the ideological dogmas of nazism largely explains the viability of nazi ideology among the petty-bourgeois and middle-bourgeois classes who easily fell for nazist nationalistic, racist slogans.

Fascist ideologists widely used the reactionary theoretical conclusions made by some German thinkers of the past, especially Oswald Spengler and Friedrich Nietzsche. One of the central theses of Spengler's philosophy is that world history is not the history of peoples, but the history of states, while the history of states is the history of wars. This last conclusion was regarded by the nazis as the methodological basis of their ideology. Spengler's idea that war is the natural condition of society and that it is the very meaning and substance of human existence was proclaimed the highest achievement of the German spirit.

Nietzsche's philosophical aphorisms about a superman who can and is called upon to rule over "subhumans" were at the bottom of all fascist theories. It is this "superman" thesis that gave rise to the cult of the German Fuhrer, which became one of the pillars of the

state doctrine and the psychological mechanism to dominate the masses. On the whole, the theory of fascism is vulgar eclecticism, mythical idealism, idol worship and apologia for unabashed voluntarism. There is nothing rational, nothing scientific, let alone humane in this "theory".

Fascist ideology is the product of the reaction of monopoly capital to the possible victory of socialism in a number of West European countries. When socialism turned into a reality and objective conditions emerged for new progressive socio-political shifts in other countries, the ideological arena was invaded by social-nationalist demagogues. Exponents of extreme anti-humanism and imperialist reaction, the ideologues of fascism nevertheless called their views revolutionary and socialist, in a bid to cash in on the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses. They were also trying to foment chauvinistic and militarist passions and political psychosis. By its social character, the ideology of fascism is an imperialist ideology of aggression, class treachery and misanthropism.

The socio-political nucleus of fascism was anti-communism which permeated its entire fabric. The nazis openly proclaimed communism to be the worst enemy of nazism. The main task of fascism was to wipe out world communism as the main barrier to the worldwide rule of the Aryans. Other pillars of fascist ideology were racism and geopolitical views. The nazis needed racism to "substantiate" the divine predestination of the Nordic race in the world community, whereas geopolitical theories were required to explain the need for *Lebensraum*. A nazi book written at that time said that the Nordic race had a natural and incontestable right to as much territory as it needed. The infinitely reactionary character and the abysmal obscurant-

ism of these "views" were obvious. How, then, could it happen that millions of people in Germany found themselves, over such a short time, trapped by this man-hating ideology?

One should not forget that the ideology of fascism is only one of many extremist bourgeois theoretical views. The nazis created an elaborate system of intellectual pressure in order to instil this ideology in the minds of the masses. The central idea of this system was to move most of the ideological pressure to the socio-psychological sphere. The nazis directed their slogans not so much towards intellect as towards nationalist sentiment. Blind fanaticism in the execution of orders by a whole hierarchy of fuhrers, a multitude of rituals specially designed to lull political consciousness, were used to reduce the Germans to cruel unthinking robots executing orders. Nazi propagandists whipped up nationalist hysteria and political psychosis to serve their ends. The nazis were playing on the feelings of working people, on their fear of losing their job, on their desire to have shelter over their heads and enough money to live on. By inculcating nationalism in the minds of the working class, the nazi propaganda machine succeeded in weakening and then rooting out such things as the workers' class understanding of their interests and proletarian solidarity. "All problems could be solved only by force, by militarising the entire life of the country," was the idea that the nazis were drumming into the heads of the Germans. Class psychology gave way to national and racist psychology. *Demagogy and social lies formed the backbone of fascist propaganda and psychological warfare.* Nazi propaganda-mongers believed that a lie repeated often enough might eventually sound like the truth. Lying becomes particularly brazen when, judging from the facts of

history, the liars know how to conceal the truth.

That continual ideological and psychological massage of social consciousness bore fruit. Those who did not yield to the constant brainwashing were physically destroyed. Some of the anti-fascists left the "paradise" of the Third Reich, and others went underground. But even in these arduous conditions of nazi dictatorship, the proletarian internationalist spirit of the finest sons and daughters of the German working class was not broken. In 1943, the "Free Germany" National Committee was set up on the territory of the Soviet Union. The leading role in this committee was played by communists who made their contribution to the defeat of nazism.

Hitler's propaganda machine which was operating at full capacity and easy victories of the fascist troops in the military campaigns of 1939-1940 created the illusion that the Germans could do anything with impunity, that German's mission was to set up "a new world order". The Soviet aviation designer Alexander Yakovlev who had visited Germany before the war later recalled that all those he had talked to—from a porter to an aircraft designer—"showed immeasurable superiority over other peoples. That attitude shone through everything, which was the result of nazi propaganda." The fascists, Yakovlev wrote, sought to impress everybody with their might, to frighten us and paralyse our will. That was the result of the infinitely cynical manipulation of the minds of millions of people. The fascist "party apparatus firmly held in its hands the entire people ensnared as it were in the nets of propaganda,"¹ wrote the German general Tippleskirch. This is

¹ Kurt von Tippleskirch, *Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Athenaum-Verlag, Bonn, 1956, S. 33.

how conditions were created for the dominance of the utterly false and reactionary ideology in the social consciousness of the German people. Its roots were not deep roots, they did not express the essence of the German people, and they certainly had no future. But by the time they launched their treacherous attack on the Soviet Union the nazi-uniformed men were already firmly in the grip of the fascist myths, were extremely arrogant and sure of themselves.

The backbone of the nazi army was the youth who were ideologically brainwashed in the *Jungfolk*, *Hitlerjugend*, and in labour camps where they were trained in the spirit of anti-communism and man-hatred. The political training of this "human material" was based on demagogical slogans of social-nationalism. The fascist soldiers asserted the "spiritual superiority" over other peoples with unheard-of cruelty by trampling upon all norms of morality and international law. That was the human material of the Hitler Army with which Soviet people came to grips in a life-and-death struggle.

Antithetic ideas personified by the Soviet soldier educated in the ideals of social justice, on the one hand, and the Hitler functionary stuffed with ideas about his superiority and educated in the spirit of Prussian military traditions, on the other, were brought into focus in an uncompromising ideological confrontation. The nazis also used ideological and psychological actions aimed at reviving in socialist social consciousness some of the old pre-revolutionary class and nationalist antagonisms, to compromise the Soviet system and the Soviet way of life.

Fascist leaders attached great importance to fomenting dissensions among Soviet people and to ideological sabotage against socialist social consciousness. The nazis

set up units of psychological warfare¹ equipped with technical facilities for ideological pressure. The personnel of such units included propaganda officers whose job was to brainwash nazi soldiers and to reduce the population of the occupied territories to spiritual slavery, which amounted to brute force, violence over body and mind, to the destruction of historical and cultural monuments of the Soviet people, and the inculcation of the idea that it was useless to fight against the "superior race". The fascists sought to suppress the Soviet people's will to resist, to deprive them of confidence that they would some day defeat fascism, and to force them into spiritual capitulation.

The weapon that the Soviet people used in their struggle against nazism and its ideology was a complex of measures both material and spiritual. It was clear that by striking shattering blows at the invaders the Soviet Army would make the German soldier understand more quickly the truth. Just a few months after the treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, especially after the nazi defeat near Moscow, the German troops were at first alarmed by the turn of events and were then struck by the premonition of impending catastrophe. The Western historian John Fuller writes that already by the end of 1941 "people in Germany began to whisper of defeat. Such was the first small crack in the plaster of the German home front, and though barely visible, it was none the less a portent that foundations might be sinking."² These "foundations" were fascist ideology which did not and could not strike deep roots

¹ These units were called *Propaganda Kompanie*. To direct subversive propaganda, a special OKW department was set up to work out plans for a psychological onslaught against the enemy.

² J.F.C. Fuller, *The Second World War, 1939-45*, Eyre and Spottiswood, London, 1948, p. 126.

in the consciousness of the popular masses.

With resistance to the enemy becoming stiffer, and with his military might waning, the Soviet ideological weapon grew increasingly effective, primarily the different forms of political propaganda which told about the true situation at the front, the origins of the war, its perpetrators, social character and irreversible consequences. Soviet propaganda brought into the consciousness of the German troops and civilians the historical truth about the real worth of the fascist myths, showed the crass reactionary character of the nazi social and state system which had doomed the entire German nation to catastrophe. The shattering defeats of Hitler's armies were an eye-opener for many people who had fallen prey to fascist propaganda. Militarist intoxication, "Aryan" arrogance began to give way to disquiet, confusion and despair. The myths of nazi ideology were crumbling.

Soviet political propaganda was directed at bringing together the anti-fascist forces, at mustering their entire potential. Leading the struggle against the worst enemy of mankind were communist and workers' parties which inspired the popular-liberation forces of many countries. Political propaganda also appealed to world public opinion. All that helped isolate the fascist regimes, disclosed the true character of the struggle and the real contribution of each of the member countries of the anti-Hitler coalition in the different phases of the war. The truth about the heroism of the Soviet people and their armed forces, which was being disseminated by political propaganda, helped the USSR to win millions of new friends on different continents.

The triumphant communist ideology showed its strength through the overwhelming moral superiority of the socialist army personnel over the "human mate-

rial" of nazi troops. The spiritual world of the Soviet soldier, who had grown up at a time when the Soviet way of life, the norms of communist morality and fraternal friendship between the peoples of the USSR took root and were spreading, proved to be much richer, more vivid and humane than the warped little world of the "supermen", those specimens of the "master race". After sustaining a series of powerful blows from the Soviet Army, Wehrmacht soldiers began to lose faith in the "ideals" of nazism. At the end of the war only the fear of retribution for the crimes they had committed and the threats of the punitive arm of the fascist machine could make nazi troops go on fighting. The ideological doctrine of nazism, and the entire system of psychological war crumbled to pieces, alongside the inhuman institutions of the Third Reich. This is the lot of all false ideologies; they have no future.

LESSONS OF HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism in Europe the bourgeois ideological subversive centres specialising in anti-Sovietism, in falsification of historical events and of present-day realities stepped up their activities. The interest that people show in history is as strong as ever. In it they see analogies and make comparisons, draw on the wisdom of previous generations. Taking into consideration this universal interest in the remote past, and even more so in the not-so-distant past, certain propaganda centres in the West have made history an object of their own speculations, inventions and falsifications for purposes of psychological warfare. One of the important aspects of ideological subversion is the fact that the events of the past make

it possible to utilise bourgeois objectivism in describing facts, events and dates and at the same time to put on them a biased interpretation that may best suit the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

The problems of the Second World War offer a broad spectrum of ideological subversion. For example, the bourgeoisie fiercely attacks the role played by the Soviet Union in the victory over nazism. For example, the American military historian Walter Kerr, a *New York Herald Tribune* Moscow correspondent in 1941-1943, tries to prove in his book *The Secret of Stalingrad* that the outcome of the Second World War was not decided on the Eastern Front, and that the Battle of Stalingrad was not that important. Using such methods, Western propaganda-mongers are trying to instil in the young generation a nihilistic attitude towards historical values.

By crudely falsifying history and acting in the face of well-known facts, the bourgeois propaganda machine is trying particularly hard to distort the facts with regard to the causes of the Second World War and its true perpetrators. This is only too clear. The general direction of bourgeois falsifications fits in particularly well with the concept of Western quarters about the "Soviet military threat". Some bourgeois policy-makers and ideologists, such as Richard Pipes, are trying to draw a direct analogy between "Russian aggressiveness under the tsars", the "expansionism of the Soviets shortly before the Second World War" and the "source of present threat to the free world". The British military writer, Ward Rutherford, for example, says that "Soviet aggressiveness" was largely responsible for the Second World War and is at the back of an impending third world war. A group of West German "experts" believe that it was threat to the "free world" from the East that

faced Hitler too and provoked him into action, therefore Russia itself forced Hitler's hand. For him, they claim, it was a war forced on by others.

Bourgeois propaganda goes far beyond the research stage, trying to bring these false ideas to the mass reader through a variety of popular publications in order to distort the truth and to instil their own ideological principles in the younger generation. In West Germany, for instance, the so-called *Landserhefte*¹ (Soldiers' Notebooks) come out in hefty editions and in sizeable book form, whitewashing fascism, its crimes and broadly hinting that communism is the main threat to the "free world". Among the contributors to this and other such publications are former SS-men, nazis, and neo-nazis. At schools, children receive large doses of propaganda through military and political games in the course of which they are exposed to the idea that the Soviet Union is the main source of all the trouble in the world and that any means are good enough to fight socialism. It is easy to see that these methods are clearly meant for creating a psychological climate of revanchism. Acting on orders from the FRG's Defence Ministry, Bundeswehr generals and officers also take part in the military indoctrination of school children. According to *Die Tat* weekly, school curricula include special courses in military history taught from the militarist positions of the old German Reich.

The aircraft manufacturing concern Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm has produced a replica of the Messerschmitt-109 which is demonstrated in public, reminding the Germans of the "derring-do" of the Luftwaffe in

¹ This brings to mind some historical analogies. At the time the nazis ruled Germany, they published popular series specially for the "soldier's pack" (*Tornisterschrift*).

the past war. For some time now collector's medals dedicated to outstanding personalities in German history, have been struck. These include Rudolf Hess, Karl Dönitz, Erwin Rommel, Otto Skorzeny and many other war criminals. There are many more similar facts which show that there are forces in West Germany which are bent on distorting the historical truth, which are busy making a "human material" which could carry out somebody's ill-will in the future.

The further the last rumblings of the war fade away, the more clearly the grim lessons of history come to us. A study of the events that took place forty years ago makes it possible to draw historical parallels with the realities of our days and understand still better the familiar historical patterns which still live in our consciousness as a reminder of the past and a warning to the present and future generations. Lenin wrote that Marxism places problems under study firmly in historical perspective, "not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement".¹ The lessons of the most terrible of all wars that have ever been fought on our planet are still extremely relevant. Mankind is again being challenged by the forces that want to turn the clock of history backward, to break the existing military and strategic parity between the two opposite systems. Knowledge of these lessons would help people to protect real human values, to expose bourgeois falsifiers, to stand up to the psychological war.

The *first lesson* is that the bid of the imperialist and aggressive forces for dominance over all other nations of the world is doomed, the results of the last war be-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, p. 72.

ing a case in point. However, when the fascist leaders were making ready for their crusade to the East they believed that their hegemonistic objectives were quite feasible and ignored the objective laws of social development. In August 1939, Hitler, speaking before Wehrmacht generals, said bluntly that the USSR would be put to rout and Germany would set itself in power over the whole world. These adventuristic claims were exploded by the Soviet people and their army. And now that socialism has grown into a world system, the utter defeat of any aggressor is a foregone conclusion. There are no such forces in the world that could destroy the socialist system by force of arms, or to dictate it their terms.

The results of the past war which crushed the most powerful and reactionary grouping of world imperialism, serve as a stern warning to all potential aggressors. However, the reactionary top of the monopoly bourgeoisie turned a deaf ear to these warnings, proof of which is the ill-starred Truman Doctrine proclaimed back in 1947. There is no stronger country in the world than the United States, said the American President. With power as great as ours, he continued, we must lead the world. There have always been forces and people in any imperialist country who ignore this lesson and who try, with maniacal stubbornness, to halt worldwide progress and align it with their own "scenarios" and "models". The foreign policy actions of the present US Administration show that it is also following this line by seeking to achieve military superiority over the USSR, a course which puts world peace at risk.

Another lesson learned from the Second World War is that it is dangerous and criminal to connive with the aggressor. The years that preceded the outbreak of the war saw not only tremendous efforts by the Soviet

Union to set up a collective security system in Europe and to curb the fascist aggressors, but also the connivance of the Western nations with Hitler. The infamous Munich policy engineered by the imperialists will forever remain in history as one of its most tragic pages. It was this policy that encouraged and spurred the fascists on to new wars of conquest, to annexations and political adventures. The reason for this appeasement of the aggressors is quite clear. By tossing Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries to the fascist wolves, the monopoly quarters of the West sought to channel the aggressive designs of the nazis in the direction of the East, against the Soviet Union. During his conversations with Hitler in November 1937, Lord Halifax said that Germany could by rights be regarded as the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism. That policy proved to be near-sighted, because it threatened not only the security of the Soviet Union and small European countries but also the security of the countries which initiated it. German fascism set out to destroy communism and to establish Germany's domination over the whole world, including Germany's imperialist rivals.

Any unbiased person who takes the trouble to compare the present-day policies of some capitalist countries with the events of those days can see for himself that this lesson of history has largely been lost on many world capitals. There is abundant proof of that. The American military which have espoused the doctrine that nuclear war is winnable are literally stuffing Western Europe with death-dealing hardware. Is it not clear that in case of war all this weaponry will become an easy target with all its terrible consequences for the states which have yielded to dictatorial pressure from the overseas? Did not the past war show that it is

dangerous to connive with those who can at any moment set off the fuse of a devastating war? Connivance with the nazis who sought to dominate the world seems to have had but little effect on certain West European politicians who still follow in the wake of the American man-of-war. They are trying to vindicate their political short-sightedness by feeding their public all sorts of anti-Soviet nonsense.

Another important lesson of the past war is the historically proven possibility of states with different social systems fighting jointly against an aggressor, for peace. Although in the Second World War the countries fighting against fascism did not pursue identical goals, the common danger they faced provided solid ground for creating an anti-Hitler coalition. Late in 1941 and early in 1942, this coalition took final shape, with about 50 countries joining in. The Soviet Union's entry into the Second World War was the main factor that turned it into a just, liberatory and anti-fascist war. The cooperation of countries fighting against fascism has retained its significance to this day. In the conditions of our time this cooperation could be maintained by adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence, by consolidation of detente and by coordinated actions in support of any peace initiatives. The 1970s demonstrated beyond any doubt the great prospects that peaceful coexistence has for the future.

But those in the West who prefer military confrontation to detente are against any historical analogies. Thus, certain West German historians, whom the last war apparently did not teach anything, are still insisting that the Western alliance with the Soviets spearheaded against Germany was the irreparable mistake which enabled the Kremlin to be the sole beneficiary of that cooperation. In his voluminous *History of the Second*

World War Liddell Hart calls the alliance between the USSR and the USA "strange". The war, he writes, gave Russia all the benefits of victory. The point is, continues Hart, that victory over Germany led to communist domination in the centre of Europe. Such contentions are not only historically untenable, but also sacrilegious, considering the role the Soviet Union played in the liberation of many peoples from nazism. The references made by high-ranking US officials to defente as a "one-way street" and that it plays only into the hands of the Soviet Union are just another attempt to question the very idea of cooperation and peaceful coexistence now as well as in the past.

The psychological war, when viewed in historical retrospect, shows that it reached its greatest scope and acerbity in the twentieth century, and especially over the past decade. A study of the past events in this sphere goes far beyond historical interest, because it shows that the winner in this psychological confrontation will, in the final analysis, be those who defend the ideas of progress and social justice.

Chapter 4

THE MECHANISM OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

The swing to the right in the policies of imperialist countries in the early 1980s led to changes in the content, strategy and tactics of the psychological war. At its present stage the psychological war is being waged through a vast network of departments and centres which plot and carry out long-term strategies. All this amounts to a streamlined mechanism of psychological warfare. In an article published by *The Guardian* in June 1981, Prof. Noam Chomsky writes that psychological warfare is an important element of the national policies of capitalist countries. The psychological war, he writes, is an element of the Cold War.

All the activities of the departments and centres of the psychological war are becoming more and more co-ordinated—be it a system of subversive actions or another anti-Soviet clap-trap in the media. Commenting on a similar situation Lenin justly pointed out sixty years ago: "They are one chorus, one orchestra. It is true that such orchestras are not conducted by a man with a score. International capital uses less conspicuous means than a conductor's baton, but that it is one orchestra should be clear from any one of these extracts."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 280.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

All modern operations of the psychological war are planned in the highest echelons of political power in the United States and in NATO. The White House lays the groundwork for this strategy which serves as the master plan of the psychological war. For example, the Truman Doctrine of 1947 proclaimed an all-out struggle against everything behind the "iron curtain". In substance that was the Cold War strategy, which assigned an important place to psychological warfare. In 1957, the Eisenhower Doctrine brought forth the strategy of "rolling back communism". In later years the architects of the Cold War admitted that the balance of forces had shifted against imperialism. That was when special attention was devoted to "bridge-building" aimed at "softening up" socialism from within. The Nixon Doctrine made public in 1969 provided for stiffening the struggle against communist ideology not only in the USSR and other socialist countries but also throughout the world. President Carter put special emphasis upon human elements: humanism, human rights, civil liberties, which he hoped would weaken existing socialism morally, would undermine the adherence of the peoples of the socialist community to its values. President Reagan, in the face of present-day realities, proclaimed a global "crusade" against socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology. In an ephemeral bid to win over socialism he has virtually declared an all-out psychological war against the new world. It goes without saying that these doctrinal precepts of the imperialist elite exert a decisive influence on the strategy and tactics of the psychological war.

The *strategy of the psychological war* of imperialism sums up its long-term aims and ways of their achieve-

ment. The global objective of imperialism today is to achieve overall superiority over existing socialism by building up the muscles of the capitalist states and by weakening the USSR and its allies. Speaking in London in June 1982, President Reagan virtually called for an all-out confrontation with the Soviet Union, using economic, political, ideological and military pressure in a bid to "reshape" the socialist system so that it would "suit" the imperialists.

The substance of the psychological war of imperialism fully reflects the political aims of US ruling quarters who ignore the fact that the fruits of the ideological struggle ripen not in accordance with the subjective desires of certain leaders of the bourgeois world or the ruling imperialist clan. This struggle is affected primarily by the objective laws governing the development of society and also by the implacable logic of social progress.

At its present stage the psychological war against the socialist countries has some specific features. The *first* feature is its outright militarism. Whatever peace-loving posture bourgeois propaganda may strike, and whatever its pacifist camouflage, its stuffing will still be militarist, aggressive and bellicose. Just a look into bourgeois radio programmes intended for socialist listeners shows that, beginning in the early 1980s, the volume of broadcasting on militarist subjects has almost doubled. The preaching of the cult of force and the right of the United States to be ahead of everybody else, the need to counter the "threat from Moscow" are the underlying motifs of most of the propaganda materials.

The *second* feature of the strategic concept of today's psychological warfare is the idea that the world socialist system is in crisis. The US President in all his speeches

announces to the whole world that Marxism is dying, that socialism has lost its historical perspective, that communism is in deep crisis, etc. With Reagan and others of his ilk wishful thinking has long since become part of their style of leadership. They know nothing about Marxism, which, ironically, does not deter them from criticising, rejecting and vilifying it. Referring to such critics, Marx exclaimed: "Oh, if only these people could read!" Screaming about the "crisis of socialism", they gloss over this apparent contradiction: on the one hand—the crisis and on the other, "the unprecedented build-up of Soviet military power!" Come to think of it, can a crisis make anybody stronger, and why should it then cause so much concern among the opponents of Marxism? However, logic is the last thing that these gentlemen bother about. The word "crisis" is used as a just another term of abuse meant to discredit socialism.

The *third* feature of the strategic concept of today's psychological warfare is the desire of the ruling quarters in the United States and NATO to intensify the propaganda offensive and subversive activities wherever they can. In order to lessen the propaganda and ideological impact of Soviet foreign policy actions, the USIA has launched a broad complex of measures designed to weaken as much as possible the ideological influence of existing socialism on people. Numerous instructions and directives coming from Washington to the agencies of psychological warfare assign them to do everything in their power to weaken and neutralise the impact of socialist information and the communist ideas, and the influence of the peaceful policies of the socialist countries.

An essential part of Project Truth is the issue of bulletins containing "warning about Soviet propaganda"

and other materials that the USIA circulates to American embassies and to its own bureaus outside the United States. It is quite obvious now that Project Truth and somewhat later two other programmes—"Public Diplomacy" and "Democracy"—are meant to serve new strategic principles of psychological warfare against the socialist countries. Project Truth is expected to achieve two strategic objectives: first, to counter Soviet propaganda, showing the danger which allegedly comes from Moscow, and, second, to portray the United States and its policy as the bulwark of peace and freedom, as the defender against world communism. In actual fact these objectives formulated in Project Truth constitute the backbone of the psychological war doctrine of American imperialism. Although the White House, the State Department, the USIA and the CIA make very few public references to all these "projects", it is clear that the strategic aspect of the mounting psychological war is given top priority, which can be judged from the fact that the very character of individual actions of the psychological war is changing towards outright subversion which has very little in common with ideological struggle.

This strategic concept is at the bottom of the *tactics* of the present-day psychological war, which are carefully selected and, if necessary, modified for a specific target, switching from one line of argument to another, depending on the situation. The tactics include the complex application of different methods and techniques of psychological warfare, concentration of efforts on a particular target and on a particular date, region, social group, etc. The main content of the tactics of modern psychological warfare is outlined by the directives of the USIA, the CIA, the State Department and special services. The military subdivisions of psychol

logical warfare in the United States and NATO, just like the foreign policy information agencies operating at the time of rising international tensions, intensive preparations for aggression, etc., act according to Pentagon directives.

The tactics of the psychological war of imperialism can best be judged by the social crisis in Poland. A massive propaganda campaign was launched against the Polish People's Republic on instructions from the CIA and the USIA. Acting in accordance with these instructions, seven Western radio stations mounted a subversive propaganda barrage against Poland in a total of 38 hours a day. Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and BBC doubled the number of their programmes for Poland. Predictably, France-Inter resumed its Polish-language broadcasts after a break of nearly two years. The amount of printed matter smuggled into Poland also increased.

The tactics of the psychological war developed some very specific features. For example, Western propaganda centres broadcast instructions for anti-socialist groups in Poland. These instructions—which were also conveyed in the form of directives sent in by air balloons or illegally printed in the form of leaflets and circulated in the country—advised the anti-socialist forces in Poland as to the character of actions they should take and specified the time of rallies, routes for anti-government demonstrations, venues and times of protest meetings, etc. The Polish-language radio stations in the West broadcast instructions on the tactics of proposed underground actions, on economic and political subversion, on the organisation of illegal publications, rules of conspiracy. They also advised on ways and means of lending political character to industrial strikes and street demonstrations, on how young people

should behave at colleges, schools and factories. The directives also advised on ways to re-adjust the Solidarity organisation so it could continue to operate in conditions of illegality, on efforts to coordinate actions by individuals, groups and masses organised and led by anti-socialist forces in different provinces of the republic, especially by the counter-revolutionary forces bent on terrorism and sabotage.

The idea of these anti-socialist and subversive actions in the Polish People's Republic was to prevent easing of tensions, strengthen mistrust in the Polish United Workers' Party, fan up anti-Soviet sentiment, and create an illusion that the crisis could be overcome only by straying away from socialism and establishing a new system based on the plurality of political forces and on private ownership of the means of production. This massive infusion into the consciousness of the people, including a section of the working class, of wrongly interpreted facts, of outright lies and insinuations created an atmosphere of anxiety, instability, making them susceptible to anti-socialist pressure.

This can well be illustrated by the twist the Western propagandists put on relations between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR. Radio Free Europe (its inventions were readily picked up by the leaders of the anti-socialist forces) continually broadcasts false information about the trade and economic ties between these countries. The broadcasters of that station hold forth about economic plunder, inequality in relations between the two countries, about one-sided advantages for the USSR. At the same time the members of the Polish United Workers' Party, Polish citizens who have enough presence of mind and class wisdom to know better, are well aware of the fact that today the USSR, just as it did in the past, renders massive economic

assistance to Poland with raw materials, equipment, technical documents, foodstuffs and consumer goods. Suffice it to say that Poland meets most of its needs for crude oil with exports from the Soviet Union at much lower prices than those at the world market. The generous and gratuitous Soviet assistance provided during the crisis in the Polish People's Republic has played a tremendous role in the life of the Polish people whom the imperialists sought to deprive of socialism.

Having thus put Poland under a radio propaganda siege, the imperialists tried to frighten the Poles with stories of a hypothetical invasion by the Soviets. At times these threats were made in a cheap gutter-press manner. For example, the French magazine *Defense et armement* wrote in December 1983 that the political decision to invade in Poland had been taken back November 1980, but the call-up of reservists in the Carpathian military district did not come off as well as expected, and the authorities had to relinquish that option. There was not a mite of truth in that article. Nevertheless the radio "voices" chose to broadcast this barefaced lie.

The perpetrators of the psychological war used tactics that fully accorded with the broader strategy of the West: to tear Poland out of the socialist community, to loosen the alliance of the fraternal countries, to weaken existing socialism. All the more limited tactical actions were undertaken strictly in line with instructions from Washington, from the NATO quarters and from Western special services. Today these tactics of psychological warfare are being perfected towards greater sophistication, massive strikes and combined actions.

The Hoover Institution at Stanford University has since the early 1980s sharply increased the range of its

research into various aspects of the strategy and tactics of psychological warfare against the socialist countries. The anti-Sovieteers on its staff are working on the "spiritual erosion" of socialism, on techniques to replace the existing set of values with others and to develop an alternative way of thinking in people living in the socialist countries. Projects for the development and realisation of strategic operations and tactical actions of the psychological war are strictly aligned with the hegemonist policies of Washington and NATO which are trying to change the course of world history. The psychological war waged by the imperialists is expected to expand the sphere of its influence not only by deeper infiltration into the structure of social consciousness, but also by manipulating it through disinformation.

MANIPULATION AND DISINFORMATION

The mechanism of psychological warfare, in its spiritual and psychical aspects, is based on manipulation of the consciousness of the masses and the planting of carefully selected and directed disinformation in their minds. The *psychological mechanism of exerting coercive pressure* on the individual, groups of people and the masses is designed to so distort information about reality that, despite downright untruth, its recipients eventually take it as a matter of course and act accordingly.

Manipulation is a multiple technique for dominating and, in fact, controlling the psychological state of people by instilling in their minds certain stereotypes that serve the interests of the ruling class. According to the bourgeois theoreticians of psychological warfare, mani-

pulation and juggling of facts can change personal values in any desired direction. This psychological pressure is exerted at three levels.

At the first level efforts are made to strengthen the *required* ideological standards and values, to consolidate these elements of consciousness in the minds of people.

At the second level, only *small modifications* are made in the views of individuals on a given event, process and fact in an effort to influence their political position or their emotional attitude to this event.

At the third level, *fundamental changes* are made in the set of values feeding the recipient with dramatic, unusual, and new data and information.

Experts in psychological warfare believe that manipulation can modify the established set of values at the first two levels of influence. As for fundamental changes in the outlook of individuals, groups of people and society, that could be achieved through complex influences on their consciousness over a long time. Prof. Robert Goodin of Yale University treats this phenomenon as an instrument for exercising power over the minds of people. He writes that manipulation amounts to a well-organised deception of people.¹ The American journal *Political Affairs* (October 1981) carried an article, *Reviving McCarthyism in Washington* by Terry Cannon who wrote that experts in the White House are well aware that the more informed people are, the more difficult it would be to manipulate them. For this reason they are fed surrogate information which is scissored, truncated and distorted. This is why, Cannon continues, authorities organised a campaign to abrogate the Freedom of Information Act, because in

¹ See Robert E. Goodin, *Manipulatory Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1960, p. 21.

the absence of truth it is easier to manipulate people's minds. In capitalist society manipulation is an indispensable element of life and, indeed, of control of people's thoughts and actions. This is *one of the most important levers of capitalist power*.

The organisers of psychological warfare cynically regard manipulation as a kind of social reflex: a standard of behaviour set by ideological and psychological motives. Such stereotypes as the "hand of Moscow" or "Soviet propaganda" are expected to evince a certain type of reaction. And since people in the capitalist countries know surprisingly little about the life of Soviet people, and, instead, receive huge doses of disinformation aimed at making them believe in the "aggressiveness", "injustice", "inhumanity" and "stifling bureaucracy" of the socialist system, the mere mention of these stereotypes evokes images of something repulsive and evil. What happens is that people actually start believing in myths and stereotypes concocted by bourgeois propaganda. Goodin writes that various omnipresent notions, images and clichés make people rely on the official interpretation of events, even when they know that they are being duped.¹ But this is what the masses are forced to accept, because this is the only information they can get, false as it is, coming from imperialist propaganda sources which manipulate people, their consciousness and social orientation. For example, as American public opinion got increasingly vocal about the expansion of American military intervention in Vietnam, the Johnson Administration concocted a story that the North Vietnamese troops had attacked American warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. This led the US Congress to adopting the notorious

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 39.

Tonkin Resolution which gave the Pentagon militarists a free hand and which actually made common people believe in the "aggressiveness" of North Vietnam. That piece of falsehood which was fabricated by the CIA and put through the strainer of psychological war was expected to assure Washington the support of the American people for its aggressive policy and to whitewash this policy in the eyes of the world community. Using such techniques (and they are many) the bourgeoisie manipulates and, in fact, *controls* the state of the social consciousness in their countries.

The policy of manipulation is closely linked with systematic disinformation of the population, of some of its groups and of society as a whole. Richard Shultz and Roy Godson sum up disinformation as a "non-attributed or falsely attributed communication, written or oral ... which seeks to deceive, misinform, and/or mislead the target".¹ The authors, who themselves are experts at disinformation, are very nearly right. *Disinformation is a communication or version aimed at deliberately misleading people*, at forcing upon them a warped, distorted or just plain false idea about reality. Disinformation is served in different forms: sensations, stereotypes, images, news, etc.

To maintain public interest in bourgeois information both at home and abroad, specialists in psychological warfare from time to time slip into the ideological supermarket of imperialism a titillating sensation to arouse public interest. In most cases such sensations are "organised". If they concern the socialist countries, these sensations are always negative: testing of new "barbarous" weapons by the "Soviets", the arrest of So-

¹ R. Shultz, R. Godson, *Dezinformatsia*, Pergamon Press, New York, Oxford, 1984, p. 38.

viet spies, a Soviet nuclear submarine off the American coast, UFOs alleged to be of Soviet origin. But even routine anti-Soviet material is in most cases presented as some sort of sensation. *The Stars and Stripes* wrote on March 26, 1984 that a former Soviet army officer who lived in Britain under the name of Victor Suvorov, said that the Soviet Union was training a special task force to kill Western political and military leaders. According to the magazine, these forces were made up of Soviet "athletes" because the job required good physical training. This invention killed several birds with one stone: "branded the Soviets with shame" for developing barbarous methods of warfare, "exposed" the real motives for the existence of the sports movement in the socialist countries, and again "showed" the Soviets in an unattractive light...

When the US Administration needed a pretext for foiling the ratification of SALT-2, the CIA slipped a sensation to the media: Soviet regulars in Cuba! America under threat of invasion! The new twist put on this pseudo-news item, photographs and eye-witness reports confused the man in the street, already scared by the mythical "Soviet threat". The official explanation by the Soviet Union and Cuba that a small army unit for the training of Cuban servicemen with the help of Soviet specialists had been there for more than twenty years was ignored by the American propaganda-mongers. This anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban campaign continued until the "job" was done and the American side formally announced that it would not ratify SALT-2. That falsehood was just another drop in the murky stream of disinformation.

Events presented as an anti-communist bomb-shell are the main source of sensations in the psychological war. One such sensation came from *France-Soir* in De-

cember 1983, which wrote that "the USSR is planning to install colonies on the Moon and, possibly even on Mars. This conclusion follows from a study published by American Congress."

Two progressive West German journalists, Emil Carlebach and Fritz Noll, in their book *Die Meldung als Waffe* (Information as a Weapon) used many examples and reports to show that the ruling classes in the FRG and other Western countries manipulate the consciousness of millions of people by creating stereotyped "ideals of the free world" and stereotypes of anti-communism. When Western tourists visiting the Soviet Union come back with favourable impressions of the country, its people, and their way of life, the Springer press, notably *Stern* and *Der Spiegel*, try to restrain these enthusiasts, saying that that was just naive and childish, that they just did not understand Soviet reality. According to these magazines, only those who paint socialism black, who slander the USSR which has done so much to preserve world peace, can rightly "understand" what it is really like.

In the course of the psychological war, the masses can be manipulated by using both "local material" and centralised information processed at the huge "news factories" of the capitalist world. The largest of these are the Associated Press (AP), the United Press International (UPI), Reuter, Agence France-Presse (AFP), and some others which produce most of the information being circulated in the world and often used in the psychological war against the socialist countries.

The agencies that are particularly hard at work feeding disinformation to anti-Soviet propaganda organisations are AP and UPI in the United States. AP often quotes a phrase attributed to Mark Twain that there are two sources that can bring light to all parts of the

world: the sun in heaven and the Associated Press on earth. Indeed, according to UNESCO, AP information is daily consumed by more than one billion people. However, with the tremendous amount of information which is pooled at AP, we must say that this "light" put through the lens of anti-Sovietism reaches its target in a badly distorted form. In actual fact, AP and other American news agencies, together with the Voice of America, are anti-socialist generators of bourgeois information. It is precisely these "sources" that put out straight news, giving it a political bias of their own choice.

All this information is made up of elements in the descending order of importance, which can be illustrated by a news complement put out by UPI in just one day: anti-socialist sorties by the counter-revolutionaries in Poland is considered an important "event", while the popular struggle in South Africa against apartheid is merely an "episode". The flight of the Shuttle is a very important event, but Israel's rape of Lebanon is just "ordinary news". Actually, this information with carefully injected bits of truth is meant to concentrate the attention of the readers, televiewers and radio listeners upon important (for those who run the agency's work) events and at the same time to shift their attention away from events which in the opinion of the agency are "unimportant".

In substance one of the principles of such "information" had long since been summed up by Otto Bismarck who said that a politician must be able to tell lies through the agency of truth. Everything that can be squeezed into the Procrustean bed of class interests is distorted out of existence. Distortion of facts has become the principal method of manipulating people's minds in bourgeois society. In fact this distortion pur-

sues only one aim: to align news reports about reality, about objective facts with the class interests of the bourgeoisie, with the political thinking of the ruling classes. This has become the norm of society's life in the capitalist countries. By contrast, whatever can go undistorted is channeled into the murky stream of cultural waste, trivial entertainment which also plays its social role in the job of disinformation, by turning into "an instrument for duping and cheating the mass of working people".¹

It is worthy of note that disinformation is not perpetrated spontaneously to suit the current situation, but is often concocted long before it is made public. In August 1982, *The Middle East*, a London-based magazine, wrote that a full year before the Israel aggression against Lebanon the news service of the Israeli government had prepared several versions of statements specially for the press (information bulletins, references, and press releases) which set forth Tel Aviv's "reasons" for the invasion. Long before the Israeli soldiers crossed the Lebanese border in American tanks, the Israeli embassies already had files of "documents" translated into many languages and meant to justify their actions. The Israeli aggressors drew their strength not only from the military hardware but also from strong political, ideological and, not less importantly, informational support. The idea of this thorough preparatory work was to shift the entire responsibility for the conflict upon the Palestine Liberation Organisation, upon the progressive forces of the Arab world. This fact bears out an old maxim: *the first target of attack and the first casualty in any unjust war is the truth.*

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 130.

To sum up, disinformation, distortion of the truth is both the purpose and substance of the psychological war of imperialism for both external consumption and manipulation of people's consciousness in the capitalist countries. By sifting, selecting, cutting and distorting objective information the bourgeois propaganda machine and the experts of psychological warfare give a warped picture of social being in the world. Individuals, social groups and masses of people who use this information see the world through the eyes of the bourgeois class and wittingly or unwittingly fall into the trap. This is the situation in capitalist society. And this is what the capitalists would like to achieve in the socialist community by using a wide range of methods and techniques of infiltration into people's social and individual consciousness.

METHODS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Of the large stock of methods used in psychological warfare we shall examine those most important.

The bourgeois kitchen of psychological warfare makes wide use of outright *fraud and deception*: fully fabricated or partly fudged up variants of existing documents, materials, and literature. Fraud and deception were widely used by Goebbels' propaganda-mongers in nazi Germany. For example, the nazis air-dropped leaflets over France, passing them off as British leaflets (in these the nazis tried to create the impression that the opening of a second front on the French coast would cause widespread damage); during the fighting in the Ardennes the nazi agitators broadcast on the BBC wave-length a falsified interview with Field Marshal Montgomery; the nazis sent falsified let-

ters and forged documents to various individuals, and accidentally "lost" "top-secret" documents in order to confuse the enemy.

Today's propaganda-mongers are also making wide use of fraud which has become an important element of psychological warfare. For example, in the brochure *Soviet Military Power* published in 1982, the Pentagon makes references to some documents and maps which they had allegedly received from "reliable sources". However, all this "factual material" which is meant to bear out the stories about the "Soviet threat" was forgery. The present-day techniques of photo-montage and typographical trickery, plus the various contrivances of the imperialist masters of subterfuge, make the fabrication of such "documents" a rather simple matter. During the events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the counter-revolutionary forces made wide use of forged verbatim reports of party meetings, government documents and resolutions.

The imperialists use frauds based on "testimony" and "documents" obtained from defectors, renegades and traitors who, in their zeal to collect their thirty pieces of silver, are ready to tell any lies. For example, a French magazine carried an interview with the former Soviet army officer, the malicious anti-Sovieteer, Pyotr Grigorenko. Posing as an outstanding military specialist, Grigorenko tossed off figures and "authentic facts". This renegade who had completely gone out of his mind, used his own very elementary arithmetic: he took the number of American missiles, nuclear warheads, chemical bombs, etc., doubled and tripled that figure and then passed it off for the "strength" of the Soviet armed forces. Spouting these fantastic figures, the man who could easily qualify for a psychiatric hospital, referred to "documents": after all, even a fraud

must have all the trappings of the real thing!

A study of broadcasts by the VOA, BBC and other bourgeois radio stations shows that most of the "documents" used in their studios ("letters" from Soviet people, "archives" of celebrities, "minutes" of high-level conferences, meetings, etc.) are crude forgeries. The promoters of the psychological war do that, knowing that their audience has no way of verifying what they put on the air. But if and when such "facts" do come to light and their identity is ascertained, the "truthful information" turns out to be a mere bunch of lies.

Another method used in ideological subversion and psychological warfare is *discreditation* of governing bodies, public organisations, political campaigns, personalities, theories, views, etc. Bourgeois propaganda experts resort to this method in order to play down the importance of a public campaign, a political decision or a social action. As a rule, they seek out some awkward or negative feature (negative in the opinion of bourgeois propaganda-mongers) and then exaggerate it out of all existence, trying to pass it off as the essential fact. The target of such attacks is furnished with deliberately false characteristics and with almost nothing positive said about it. The bourgeois radio centres used this method particularly widely in their programmes about the events in Poland. The enemies of socialism have always sought to decry the communist ideas, to slur the policy of the fraternal parties, their plans and achievements. So that time again they took advantage of the Polish events for discrediting socialism as a system: its economy, culture, ideology and ideals.

By command from Washington, all the radio stations, publications, and special services in the West began to cry from the housetops about a "crisis of socialism". This became a favourite subject used by Pipes and

Brzezinski in their interviews, by Kissinger in his articles, and by many other enemies of existing socialism. The existence of this "crisis" was "substantiated" by statistical equilibristics, "statements" by political dissidents and "resolutions" adopted at anti-Soviet rallies. The die-hards were given to wishful thinking. That was no optical illusion, but the class malice of the exploiters, a malice that developed into an overriding desire to denigrate everything that was even remotely associated with socialism.

The ideological saboteurs often use the so-called *barrage method* in order to distract public attention from some political reality or event. To do this, the organs of bourgeois propaganda simultaneously start a noisy campaign over some insignificant event, or a political dissident, or some other piece of flummery and in this way obfuscate the object or event which the capitalist class would rather keep out of the limelight.

Significantly, at the time when the communist parties hold their congresses, or when people celebrate historical dates or mark the achievements of existing socialism, the machine of the psychological war always dredges up an event which is passed off as something even more important and which, naturally, has that ubiquitous anti-Soviet bias. As a rule, the bourgeois propaganda centres have several stand-by variants of such "barrage operations" which the bourgeois radio stations could put to good use (organisation of an anti-communist pow-wow, publication of some sensational "materials", organisation of "public readings", etc.).

After the Second Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament, at which the Soviet Union declared its commitment not to make first use of nuclear weapons, there was no reaction from the US capital for two days. But later, when the US government refused

to uphold this Soviet initiative of world-wide importance, the USIA and the CIA mounted several "barrage operations" which they had prepared long before. One of them was the allegation that the Soviet Union had expanded the scope of missile testing, another about "the fresh proof that the Soviet Union and Vietnam were using chemical weapons in South-East Asia", etc. The more important the event which could not be hushed up, the more active and more varied are the barrage operations which are meant to lure the uninitiated away from the facts and towards something unimportant, contrived and even non-existent.

In psychological warfare the imperialists often resort to *intimidation* and terror intended to crush their enemy's will to resist, fight and achieve its goal. This method was widely used by the nazis who shot, burned alive, tortured to death and hanged millions of people not only in pursuance of their policy of genocide but also for breaking the spirit of the remaining population, for reducing it to humble slaves. In the course of the wars they waged at different times, the imperialist aggressors were out to destroy whole cities, killing thousands and even hundreds of thousands of people in order to frighten the rest into submission. The destruction of Leningrad, Minsk, Rotterdam, Hiroshima, Beirut, Suez, Hanoi, which was senseless from the military point of view, was carried out also for the purpose of psychological and spiritual suppression of people. The destruction of populated centres with all their inhabitants (Khatyn, Songmi, Oradour, Lidice, Sabra, Shatila) are not only acts of unmatched cruelty, but also a method of intimidation, the barbarous suppression of human spirit, and acts of psychological terror.

But even in the conditions of peace the imperialists use intimidation as a method although in a somewhat

modified form. Insinuations about future horrors that fill their radio programmes, apocalyptic films and books, the gloom and doom of human existence, pessimistic prophesies, are meant to fill radio listeners, readers and film viewers with despair and irrational fear for the future. This makes it easier to manipulate such people, to rule over them, to drum certain stereotypes of political thinking into their heads. Fear paralyses not only their will but also their ability to think, feel and understand the truth. This is why the machinery of psychological war is seeking to demoralise people with a show of hysteria, forebodings and gloomy prophesies.

To achieve a lasting effect, the imperialist propaganda-mongers go further than broadcasting reports about "the Kremlin's scheming", reprinting CIA forgeries about "new Soviet missiles targeted on Western cities" or intelligence reports about some mysterious "laboratories" in Siberia engaged in the development of a biological weapon. Essential elements of psychological warfare today are fiction, cinematography, historical research centres, and "sensitive information" from "highly reliable sources". Each one of these forgeries is widely advertised. For example, the best-selling novel *The Devil's Alternative* by Frederick Forsyth was, in the best traditions of American comics, praised in the bourgeois press as a "foretaste of things to come", and a "profound prophesy of the possible". The book was published in many countries, won several prizes and made into a screen version.

The plot of *The Devil's Alternative* weaves around a certain "Plan Boris" which, according to the author, was hatched in Moscow. This was a plan for a treacherous attack on the West and the author named it after the Russian Czar Boris Godunov. This diabolical plan

provided for an armour breakthrough across the Elbe and for the capture of Western Europe within a few days, after which crowds of soldiers with red stars on quilted hats would walk the capitals of the "free world". Let the ordinary people be kept in a permanent state of fear. It is necessary to scare one's own population first, and later the USIA and the CIA will do the same with the people from Eastern Europe, say the experts of psychological warfare. These fictionalised ravings of a lunatic passed off as a "literary work" were clearly concocted to please the masterminds of the psychological war.

One of the instruments of intimidation is the so-called horror films. As Dan Yakir wrote in the Italian magazine *L'Europeo* (August, 1982), there was a virtual boom of horror films in the United States. Such films as *The Thing*, *Creepshow*, *Videodrome*, *Zombi* produced by the film directors John Carpenter, Howard Hawks, David Cronenberg and George Romero are noted for their cruelty, naturalism and sadism. Hawks, who specialises in "blood-chillers", writes about these films as a terrible narcotic drug which reduces people to such a state that after watching them they ask the authorities for protection against all kinds of irrational threats. Such people believe in flying saucers, in the "hand of Moscow", in the "red Huns". The horror films are the product of the inhuman manipulation of people through psychological intimidation.

One of the best known methods of ideological subversion is *rumours*, i.e. information without a factual basis. Rumours put in circulation by bourgeois radio propaganda are aimed at people with a low level of political consciousness. One of the typical features of any rumour is that as it is passed from mouth to mouth, it gets more and more exaggerated and filled with all

kinds of fantastic "details" and new "facts". Bourgeois experts in psychological warfare think that the best target for a rumour is the man in the street. Another important aspect of spreading rumours is the emotional element that the rumour goes with: excitement, uncertainty, expectation of coming events, etc. Emotionally and ideologically unstable people spread such rumours and in this way foster false notions in others.

The American instruction manual *Psychological Operations* attaches great importance to rumours as an instrument of enemy disinformation. Its recommendations were widely used during the Vietnam war. For example, rumours were circulated that those fighting on the side of the patriots who laid down arms and stopped fighting would receive large sums of money and jobs in Saigon. It was also rumoured that a new type of bombs for "blanket" bombing would be used against Hanoi and Haiphong, that whole large units of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were surrendering, etc. The idea of rumours as an instrument of disinformation and intimidation is to suggest a model of behaviour to trustful and gullible people.

The ideological saboteurs know that rumours to a certain extent fill an existing information gap, enable people to judge an event they know very little about. Such rumours can be absolutely implausible but with a sprinkling of true facts. Rumours might be aimed at raising hopes, creating panic, frightening people and inciting them to action. The best way of scotching rumours is by providing the population with the fullest possible information about the real state of things and about prospects for the future. A scientific world outlook which is based on the high moral standards and political maturity of the people is the most foolproof barrier to rumours which have always been an impor-

tant weapon of psychological warfare.

But there are still others in the long list of methods for exerting ideological pressure. Bourgeois propaganda-mongers introduce into the established social principles a hostile note, create illusory stereotypes (with the help of religious preaching, and the dissemination of mysticism), try to fit events in with a certain concept, make gratuitous accusations of actions, persons and organisations of being subversive, "disloyal", "corrupt" and even "terrorist".

By doing so, bourgeois propagandists seek to distort the truth, to create a warped picture of reality, to inculcate in people hostile ideas and principles. Using these methods, imperialist propaganda-mongers not only try to create a semblance of credibility but also to advise as to how to behave, what choice to make, and what decision to take. Bourgeois saboteurs attach special significance to quick response to political events. For instance, the American regulation for psychological warfare says that this reaction must be either lightning quick, or not at all. In other words, if the event in question plays into the hands of propaganda-mongers, it must be presented as quickly and as sensationally as possible; and if the event happens to be disadvantageous from the propaganda point of view, it must be either silenced or played down.

This means that the psychological war that the imperialists are waging against socialism uses different methods, such as propaganda subterfuge, and subversion, if these methods can achieve the desired effect: a show of force, terrorist and subversive acts, diplomatic demarches, political pressure, circulation of lies, economic sabotage, trade blockade, propaganda canards, espionage, etc. All these methods and practices, according to their creators and organisers, are to de-

ceive people, to give them a distorted picture of reality, sow illusions and misconceptions.

SELECTION OF METHODS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE

The methods and practices used in the struggle of ideas are selected very carefully, together with the target of hostile propaganda. Bourgeois propaganda does not conceal the fact that its main targets are intellectuals and youths; now also the Soviet Army personnel.

Among other social groups selected as propaganda targets are women, pensioners, people of certain nationalities, the population of some regions, men and women in specified professions, etc. Western propagandists hope that this highly differentiated, selective approach will help them "serve" the personal spiritual interests of the individual.

One of the principal targets of bourgeois propaganda is the *intelligentsia*, as an important "producer" of spiritual and cultural values. The proportion of the intelligentsia in the social structure of socialist society is growing. The number of scientists, engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers and doctors is increasing, while the rate of growth of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in the Soviet Union has over the past several years been higher than in all the other social groups. This natural process is the result of the policy directed at speeding up scientific and technical progress, at raising people's cultural and educational standards. Taking into account the important role of the Soviet intelligentsia in the cultural development of the people, bourgeois propaganda is trying hard to influence, at least in some measure, the views of brain workers, their moral make-up and what they "pro-

duce". Bourgeois propaganda-mongers particularly go after politically immature and unstable people, those who have no firm principles in life, no civil dignity and no patriotic pride. There are very few such people in socialist society, which explains the fact why bourgeois saboteurs are so persistently looking for them.

Among the subversive ideas that bourgeois ideologists are seeking to implant in the hearts and minds of the intelligentsia there is one that speaks of the special role played by intellectuals in the modern world. This is nothing but a new edition of the bourgeois elitist concept. Its authors are trying to "prove" that the wave of scientific and technological progress has swept upon its crest the entire scientific and engineering elite which is tightening its control over the entire process of development of human society. This means, these theorists say, that the intelligentsia must no longer be content with "secondary" roles, that it should more and more assert its "independence" from state institutions. Actually, there is nothing new in this concept whose very idea is to weaken the moral and political unity of socialist society, to foster social "dissatisfaction" in brain workers, and a nihilistic attitude to the existing spiritual values. It has become a pattern with Western ideological centres to pick up a thesis of some renegade, like the internal emigre Andrei Sakharov, and then draw some sweeping conclusions such as that these people reflect the views of "internal intellectual opposition" that allegedly exists in the USSR.

Another large social group that bourgeois propagandists are seeking to bring under their corrupting influence is the *youth*. Bourgeois propaganda has placed its highest hopes on the ideological "disarmament" of the youth in an effort to weaken their revolutionary enthusiasm, to blunt their class identity, to set them

against the older generation, to make them sceptical and apolitical, to expose them to bourgeois mores and morals which are alien to socialist society.

Young people of under 30 years of age constitute more than half the population of the Soviet Union. In everything they say and do, the Soviet youth prove their unbending loyalty to the cause of their fathers, to the communist ideals. Their dedicated work on the national building and economic projects, in science and in study, their valour in military service have all become the norm of life for the Soviet youth. At the same time, if one examines some of the aspects in the education of the young generation in the light of the ideological struggle, one can see that they have indeed not gone through the class struggle the older generation did. Our youth did not take part in the wars in defence of the socialist motherland, did not endure the hardships that fell to the lot of their predecessors. They have not yet fully developed the kind of class consciousness they are expected to have. It takes time, concrete circumstances for every young man and every young woman to test themselves in practical work in order to prove their ideological soundness and loyalty as citizens. Social and class experience does not come all of its own, nor does it come fast. And this is exactly what our ideological opponents are counting on, this is exactly why they seek to torpedo the ideas of collectivism, to inculcate a proprietary mentality in people, a consumer psychology and political indifference, and especially a nihilistic attitude to the achievements of their predecessors.

Taking into consideration the peculiar mentality and psychology of the youth, the ideological saboteurs flirt with students, trying to foster in them feelings of social dissatisfaction. When they speak to young workers,

they try to conjure up in their minds an image of a consumer paradise. The fare they offer Soviet soldiers shows the "democratic" nature of the capitalist military establishment, which gives its officers and men a chance to make good money. The propaganda-mongers aim to deprive army-men in the socialist countries of their class sentiment, patriotic pride and loyalty to their ideals. Knowing the love of the youth for art, literature, music and sport, Western propaganda centres seek to use them to make an attractive package for their ideas, which then come in the form of hit tunes, mass culture films, stories about "super-athletes", etc.

The youth are impatient. Some propagandists in the West keep this in mind and, instead of taking a positive view of the future, try to link thoughts and feelings only to the negative aspects of today's life: dissatisfaction, uncertainty and inability to adjust to society. And when no such facts exist, they simply make them up.

Most frequently Western radio stations broadcast programmes about the freedom that the Western youth enjoys in the choice of their future. These include juicy stories about those of the young men and women in the West who prosper and who have risen to the top of their careers, who own luxury homes, yachts and art collections. But there is one thing that the bourgeois propaganda-mongers never mention, that only a very small part of the youth in the West can go through college, and that because of exorbitant education fees. For example, in France, which is by far the most fortunate country in this respect, the number of students from working class families constitute a mere 8 percent. Nor do they say that in West Germany one out of every three unemployed workers is under 25 years of age, that almost 50 percent of suicides in West European

countries are young people who "exit out" because of uncertainty, lack of prospects and spiritual bankruptcy. There are many such facts. But the USIA, CIA and other such organisations and institutions close their eyes on such things.

Differentiation in ideological struggle means not only selection of the target but also greater particularisation of the ideological impact, allowing for the changes taking place in the spiritual make-up of the young Soviet man. The socialist countries' class enemies make great efforts to affect the minds of their youth. They pose as "friends" of young people, try to ensnare politically unstable, inexperienced young men and women in capitalist propaganda nets, to blunt their class and revolutionary vigilance with liberal bourgeois disquisitions, try to fan up nationalist sentiment, look for renegades who might fall for the "easy life".

Theoretical knowledge now holds a very important place in the high-technology revolution. The rapidly growing volume of information broadly reflects the world outlooks of different political systems, classes and social groups. Analysis of the ideological struggle, of individual actions of ideological confrontation between the two systems shows that theoretical questions hold an increasingly important place in the battle of ideas. Without easing its pressure on social psychology, on the feelings of individual men and women, the bourgeois propaganda machine at the same time puts special emphasis on infiltration into human intellect which reflects the rational, theoretical aspect of man's consciousness.

But man's consciousness has another, emotional side to it. As it often happens, a man's emotions fall behind his rational thinking. This "woe to wit", this seeming contradiction is nothing new. Actually, in all periods of

the revolutionary development of science and technology, the rational aspect of consciousness has always been somewhat ahead of its emotional aspect.

The predominance of the rational element in human consciousness may manifest itself in dry and selfish calculation. On the other hand, the predominance of the emotional over the rational in a person who has no established hard-gained principles and knowledge of life makes him excessively impulsive and gushy. As years go by, this correlation between the rational and the emotional becomes more balanced. You may wonder what all that has to do with ideological struggle. Allowing for the shortage of emotional information, Western propaganda centres are very particular about the wording of their political writing and broadcasting.

Some of the peculiarities of bourgeois propaganda, its methods and practices bear a distinct stamp of psychological warfare. Their aim is to conceal and distort the truth and in this way to influence the behaviour of people in a certain direction, to control their thoughts, motives and intentions. This propaganda mechanism is just as inhuman as the mechanism of physical genocide, because the psychological war sets out to kill all that is human and kind, and rational.

Chapter 5

THE MEANS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

One of the most important human needs is the need to communicate. Without communication the life of man, and indeed of humanity, would be impossible. For Robinson Crusoes exist only in novels. On a social plane, human communication is largely effected through an exchange of information, without which the development of culture, cultural values, moral standards, customs and knowledge in general would be impossible.

In socialist society, all government and political institutions in charge of the media regard them as an instrument of social communication, as a means of education, of consolidation of international ties in the interests of peace. Humanism, optimism, concern for peace and for the intellectual and moral development of people characterise the content and purpose of the mass media in the socialist countries.

In capitalist society, the media are used, on the one hand, as instruments of manipulation and distortion of the truth, as a tool of psychological pressure, and on the other, as an important field of capitalist enterprise. What is more, capitalist corporations and militarist quarters are trying to turn the media into tools of ideological aggression and psychological pressure on the international scene. This has given rise to the term "information imperialism" which reflects not only the anti-socialist, anti-democratic substance of bourgeois information, but also the ideological dominance of monopoly.

ly capital in the West and in the developing countries, where it has established itself as the sole producer and dispenser of information. This is an important aspect of the psychological coercion that imperialism daily perpetrates against millions of people throughout the world. For example, the total newspaper circulation in the developing countries is smaller than that in the United States alone. Moreover, the media in the developing countries have but very little effect on the moral and cultural make-up of the capitalist world.

Scientific and technical progress has vastly expanded man's possibilities for transmitting information and expanding knowledge. However, their political orientation is fully determined by the class interests of those forces which are in possession and control of the media. Radio, television and the press have not only come to every home and every family, but have also brought nations, states and continents within reach of each other. The possibility of communication, of human contacts, has grown tremendously. But this, at the same time, has intensified the confrontation between the two systems, between two ideologies and world outlooks. The development of facilities to disseminate ideas shows the great importance that all governments attach to the struggle for the hearts and minds of people. During the course of political coups, civil wars, racial and class clashes in developing countries, the rebels try to seize radio stations, television studios and newspaper offices as their first priority, and only after that do they set out to take over government ministries and presidential palaces. *The force of information is a political force*, the latter being an important attribute of power.

The socialist countries give a truthful picture of events both at home and abroad, because they have no stake in distorting the facts. The historical truth is on

the side of socialism and this is why socialism has no need to use slander in fighting against slander. This approach is alien to the Marxists who act upon the principle proclaimed by Marx: "If we are going to fight, let's fight honestly."¹ This position is not only noble, but it also reflects the inexhaustible optimism of socialism, its confidence in its historical justice.

THE MEDIA AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

The functions of the media are determined by the social role they play in society. Under socialism, the media discharge the following functions.

Dissemination of knowledge about social reality, which involves informing people about facts and events in different spheres of life. The truth which is so vital to socialism is the criterion for and the substance of information disseminated by the media. The factual nature of information is the intellectual platform for the scientific interpretation of the world by Soviet people.

The running and guidance of society through the media. This is achieved by the dissemination, assimilation and adoption by the individual and social consciousness of socialist values, of the standards of the Soviet way of life, of socialist morality, all of which, in turn, regulate the relationships between individual and society, between man and collective. The educational character of this function, just like other functions, is conditioned by the humanistic substance of information under socialism.

Enrichment of culture. It is hard to imagine a sphere of creation—literature, the arts, etc.—outside the

¹ *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 350.

media. The question at issue is not "mass production" of individual elements of culture (painting, films, music, etc.) but the infinite possibilities of every person to benefit from the finest works of art, to take part in their creation and dissemination. The fundamental difference between this function and the role played by the so-called mass culture of bourgeois society stems from the encouragement of the creative urge inherent in every person, from the unfolding of his creative potential, and not from the uniformity of thinking, of tastes and requirements.

The struggle against social evil, bourgeois lies, against insinuations, slander and abuse being poured upon socialism. The struggle between the ideas of the two systems has always taken place. But this struggle, in the view of Marxist-Leninists, must not be used as a tool of the Cold War, as an element of subversion. The ideological struggle must not be allowed to turn into a psychological war, must not be used as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of states and peoples, nor must it lead to a political or military confrontation. Otherwise the ideological contest could lead to a world catastrophe which will engulf millions of people and their ideological concepts. The imperialists, however, have linked the struggle of ideas with a psychological war and subversive actions and have in this way confronted socialism with the need to repel this psychological aggression. In its efforts to counteract this pressure, the world of socialism makes wide use of the ideological means of propaganda and political agitation (and not the methods and practices of psychological warfare) for disseminating the truth about existing socialism, for exposing the inhuman actions of imperialism.

In the capitalist countries these functions of the mass media have a largely opposite social orientation: their

purpose is to keep the political consciousness of the masses in the snares of bourgeois prejudices, advocate inequality and carry on a frenzied psychological war against socialism. The emergence of the world socialist system marked the beginning of a psychological war waged against it by the world of capitalism. Back in 1945, the United States proposed at a pan-American conference in Mexico that curbs be lifted on the free and unrestricted dissemination of ideas in the world. However, it became clear almost immediately that this concept stipulated the freedom of anti-communist propaganda, and maximum restriction of socialist ideas. This situation has not changed to this day. When they talk about the need to promote "freedom of information", the bourgeois propaganda-mongers actually mean "freedom" to infiltrate the socialist world, to wage psychological warfare, and practice subversion. These intentions and practical actions of the bourgeoisie are very much part of the imperialist attacks on humanism, on human rights and freedoms. This is what Lenin warned against when he wrote that capitalism "will raise the standard of liberty against us".¹ In spite of certain international legal norms, in spite of the UN Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and on the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty (1965), the imperialists have intervened and are continuing to intervene in the sovereign affairs of various countries.

The Final Act signed in Helsinki in 1975 reads in part: "The participating States will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by its sovereignty, including in particular the right of every State to ju-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 352.

ridical equality, to territorial integrity and to freedom and political independence. They will also respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations." This historic document bears the signatures of the US President and of other Western leaders. However, the hypocritical substance of bourgeois politics and morals is such that Western leaders can speak publicly about their adherence to international accords and at the same time engage in subversion against the countries of socialism.

People still remember that acting under the guise of "freedom of information" the imperialist West hatched and supported the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in 1956. Subversive radio centres were virtually in command of the counter-revolutionaries, and directed their destructive, anti-socialist actions, instigating the revolt. A similar situation emerged during the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. However, there was a marked shift of emphasis in the conduct of radio propaganda. In Hungary, the counter-revolutionaries staked their all on the direct use of force, whereas in Czechoslovakia the mass media sought erosion of socialism from within, tried to weaken the deep-felt beliefs, ideological fibre of the socio-political system in Czechoslovakia. The Western conductors of the counter-revolutionary orchestra went so far as to allege that their attitude to the events in Czechoslovakia was prompted solely by their desire to help improve the socialist system there. Keeping in mind its failure with regard to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, bourgeois propaganda has developed a new strategy with regard to Poland.

At present the mass media, which provide technical means for imperialism in its psychological warfare, are owned by a handful of big corporations, which exercise

a virtual monopoly of the press, radio, television, and film production. Suffice it to say that they control 80 percent of daily newspapers, 90 percent of radio transmitters, 95 percent of television facilities and 85 percent of film production. More than 80 percent of the information used by radio, television and newspapers is provided by the four big news agencies of the capitalist West: Associated Press, United Press International, Reuter and France-Presse. These produce more than 40 million words daily and then over to 110 countries.

The capitalist mass media are greatly influenced by the Zionist circles. For example, Zionist organisations in the United States control half of all its magazines, more than half of its radio stations, and a large number of press and radio bureaus abroad. In other capitalist countries the picture is very much the same. In addition to that, various Zionist organisations run more than a thousand publications in 67 countries. This is where the military-industrial complex draws its ideological support.

The capitalist mass media *spread outright lies about socialism*, create a climate of fear for the future, of gloom and doom. The main idea of this vast system of disinformation is to prove that "socialism is bad" and the "free world" is good.

This is how the capitalist mass media are waging the psychological war against the Soviet people, also against their own people whom the bourgeois radio centres feed with disinformation. This is how opinions in the West are shaped when people are unable to understand the true state of things, when they think and act only under the influence of the extraneous forces that manipulate them.

The mass media become a destructive aggressive force once they are drawn into capitalist social relations.

The commercial attitude to cultural and ethical values makes them into something that can be bought and sold, a situation that is widely reflected in radio and TV programmes and in the press. Referring to the corrupt influence of the capitalist way of life Marx said: "The extent of the power of money is the extent of my power... I *am* ugly, but I can buy for myself the *most beautiful* of women. Therefore I am not *ugly*, for the effect of *ugliness*—its deterrent power—is nullified by money. I, according to my individual characteristics, am *lame*, but money furnishes me with twenty-four feet. Therefore I am not lame. I am bad, dishonest, unscrupulous, stupid; but money is honoured, and hence its possessor."¹

The bourgeois centres of psychological warfare are trying to make the maximum possible use of the mass media. For this purpose various research centres study information processes in order to reveal latent resources for making psychological warfare still more effective. According to Prof. Michael Choukas (USA), a leading authority on psychological warfare, the success of the psychological war is linked to the following conditions: information must be prompt, emotionally charged, directed at a selected target. In addition to that the tactics of psychological influence must be combined with maximum actualisation of information. We must not underestimate the professional skills of our ideological enemies who are well informed, and well versed in the art and techniques of propaganda. They can delude the inexperienced, plant doubts in the minds of the ideologically immature, make an ill-informed person accept a lie as a fact, or confuse those who have no firm intellectual foundation, such as a

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 324.

scientific world outlook. These ideological saboteurs gamble on the assumption that "the average man just gets lost in the sea of daily political announcements. He is incapable of distinguishing true from false, important from trivial, slanted from straight."¹

This means that the Western concepts of using the media are based on ideological, political and moral interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states. NATO's propaganda centres and special services use the media as an instrument of ideological aggression, and all-out psychological war.

The socialist countries look at the international exchange of information in the context of peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle between the two systems. The argument between the two social systems and between their ideologies can only be settled by life itself, by historical practice, by practical action. Confident of the advantages of socialism and its ideology, the Communists believe that every country must be responsible for the content of information, that it must not in any way interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, and must take into account the national interests of other peoples. The social functions of the media are inseparable from the ideological role of the organs of propaganda. Today they play a decisive role in the struggle for the hearts and minds of people, focusing their attention on the confrontation between true and false, justice and injustice, moral and amoral, humane and inhumane. In this mechanism of psychological warfare, different mass media play different roles.

¹ Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War: 1939-1945*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979, p. 431.

RADIO BROADCASTING IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

According to the theorists and practitioners of psychological warfare, radio is the most expeditious medium capable of transmitting the information required. Taking into consideration the fact that virtually every home in the socialist community has a radio set, the USIA and the CIA have set great store by radio propaganda. Radio broadcasting, as an instrument of psychological warfare, is prompt, very mobile and can reach its target in any point of the globe.

The tactics of radio propaganda in the psychological war are determined by the military and political situation and by the goals that radio centres and their masters set themselves. When tensions in the world flare up, radio propaganda becomes blunter and harsher in tone, bordering on provocation. This is when the programmes of such radio stations are filled with instigatory or intimidating passages, counter-revolutionary calls and downright deception. The correlation between straight facts and comments in such broadcasts varies in line with the instructions worked out at the USIA and various research centres. Radio war specialists have noticed that presentation of facts without comments has but a short-lived effect. But, they say, a fact backed up by comments increases and deepens this effect. This, however, makes the programme much more ponderous and may turn off many listeners who just cannot or do not want to hear it in full. However, bourgeois propaganda-mongers have noticed that the *attitude to the fact*, even if the details of the commentary have been effaced, stays in the memory of listeners for a long time.

One of the prominent propaganda specialists in the United States, Thomas Sorensen, singles out several

ways that Western values can be introduced into the public of the communist countries—trade, the press, scientific contacts, tourism, the work of the special services, television, literature, sport. But the main vehicle for Western propaganda is radio which surpasses all other media in scope and speed. The main problem here, he says, is to find the right approach to the unfamiliar audience and give them facts which are interesting to the people of the Soviet bloc countries and which we want them to know.

Radio is the most effective tool of subversion in the hands of the imperialists waging the psychological war against the socialist countries. This is why new radio stations, relay stations, and radio-complexes are sprouting on all continents like mushrooms after rain. The Reagan Administration had allocated \$7.5 million for the completion of still another radio station, called Radio Cuba Libre which was recently put into operation. This means that the many other anti-socialist radio centres have been joined by another one, this time anti-Cuban. The USIA's long-term plans envisage the construction of a few more such radio centres of psychological warfare. Today the NATO countries, and especially the USA, have a large number of major radio stations that take an active part in the psychological war against the socialist countries.

Alongside the Voice of America controlled by the USIA, and the BBC, there are other stations beaming their subversive programmes to the socialist countries: Radio Liberty, Die Deutsche Welle, the Voice of Israel, etc. A good illustration of how the ideological subversive bourgeois centres organise their ideological sabotage is provided by Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (RL/RFE), which are financed by the United States and transmit from West Germany.

These two radio stations were set up by the Americans in the early 1950s as an arm of the psychological war against socialism. It was these two stations, operating as they did under control of the CIA, that inspired the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in 1956 and the anti-socialist actions in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It was these radio stations that did their utmost to soften up the foundations of socialism in Poland. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have powerful broadcasting facilities. In 1983, they received an additional complement of twelve 100-kilowatt transmitters and then still another eleven 250-kilowatt transmitters that were set up near Munich. In 1984, the RL/RFE weekly output to the Soviet Union was more than 500 hours (almost double that of the VOA).

The subversive activities of these radio stations are financed primarily by the United States. In 1983, the US Congress allocated more than \$150 million in pay for the personnel of the radio stations, let alone various subsidies for "technical improvements" and information work, for the expansion of various RL/RFE departments operating in many countries under the covert protection of the CIA. Early in October 1982, the White House appointed Senator James Buckley, an arrant anti-Sovieteer, President of RL/RFE. This should be interpreted not only as a sign of the growing anti-Soviet bias of radio broadcasts and an escalation of the anti-Soviet radio-war, but also as a signal for a still more aggressive psychological campaign. All the broadcasts of these stations are subversive and are spear-headed against socialism.

One of the pet themes of RL/RFE is relations between different ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. What inventions and outright lies they can stoop to! National oppression, "Russification" of small ethnic

groups, "extinction of their national identity", are just a few. Quoting from the books by anti-Soviet writers Helene Carrere d'Encausse and R. Remeikis, RL/RFE referred gravely to non-existing "ethnic problems" in the USSR and the "danger" posed by the growing proportion of the so-called "Moslem population". These concoctions were then analysed by "experts" who drew the "conclusion" that relations between different nationalities in the Soviet Union are subject to "centrifugal factors". The bourgeois propaganda-mongers are not abashed by the fact that the friendship of the Soviet peoples, the international brotherhood of different nationalities have withstood the test of time and had results very beneficial to society.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe with particular zeal speculate about the events in Afghanistan and neighbouring countries. They not only condone the outright intervention by the United States, China, Pakistan and some other countries in Afghanistan's domestic affairs, but also pour torrents of lies upon the young revolutionary regime and upon Soviet internationalist assistance to its southern neighbour. In February 1984, for example, the Western media gave a dramatic account of "the use by the Soviets" of toxic weapons in Afghanistan, of "destruction by Soviet troops of a number of villages near Kabul and Herat," of the "genocide of the civilian population", the "unjust" economic relations between the USSR and Afghanistan, etc. As a rule, these concoctions are made up of outright lies, inventions by counter-revolutionaries, and fabrications. Disclosures of fraud and disinformation apparently make no impression on bourgeois experts in psychological warfare. Lately these propaganda centres have been giving more and more attention to "the growing Soviet military threat to the West", "the

aggressiveness of communism", "the forced rearmament of the free world", etc.

From the day the world's first socialist state was born the imperialists have been trying to frighten their peoples with the bogey of the "Soviet threat". By a strange coincidence the radio propaganda-mongers do not like to recall the imperialists' invasions of the USSR. They must have clean forgotten, too, that the United States, back in 1949, worked out its "Dropshot" plan for launching a nuclear attack on the USSR. American officials never inveigh against NATO which was set up several years before the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Nor do they admit publicly that the imperialist states started and have always been in the lead of the arms race (we need only recall who was the first to create and use the atomic weapon, to construct atomic submarines, who started the production of the neutron weapon, cruise missiles, etc.). The said radio stations never mention it. At the same time they pile one lie about the "Soviet military threat" upon another.

Of course, this is by far not the full menu of these radio stations whose anti-communist line seems to be growing ever-more strident, and which are always on the look out for new fraudulent methods and practices. Their choice of personnel, incidentally, could not be better suited for the job. The propaganda operation, with its more than two thousand employees, is directed by Americans—professional intelligence officers and anti-Soviet "experts" who have a long record of subversive work in many countries.

They are well matched by the rank-and-file employees most of whom are renegades, defectors, traitors, and just opportunists. For example, V. Maximov, who has made himself a niche there, has a criminal record; Yu. Semenko, once an active member of Bendera's

gangs, killed many Soviet people; O. Krasovsky, once Vlasov's colleague, is now in the pay of the CIA; Sultan Garif is a traitor and a common criminal. Other RL/RFE employees have similar biographies. Blind with hatred for socialism, they have long since sold themselves to the imperialist services and are zealously working for their "thirty pieces of silver". These are people without a present or a future: the lot of those who have betrayed their country.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are openly subversive radio stations for psychological warfare. However, if we take a closer look at the practice of radio centres which claim "respectability", "objectivity" and "solidarity", we shall see that the picture is very little different from the "black propaganda" of RL/RFE. What we have in mind is, of course, the Voice of America and the BBC which are trying hard to sound objective and impartial. But a lie always remains a lie, regardless of how it is packaged and labelled.

In order to draw the attention of a maximum number of listeners (today the Voice of America broadcasts 900 hours a week in 39 languages, with about 300 hours to the Soviet Union), the VOA includes in its broadcasts many outwardly neutral programmes, such as "The Movie Land", "Around the World", "Now Music", "Music for Dancing", "Art Today", "Pages from the Past", "Sport Stars", etc. These features serve only as a bait for listeners who will next be given a dose of news stuffed with anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in spite of the wrappings of objectivity. These decoys are used to make up for one important shortcoming of radio broadcasting: it is a one-way dialogue. Using these programmes for entertainment and programmes for information the VOA and the BBC

seek to attract letters from their listeners, to establish "feedback" channels which they could later use for obtaining political information. Such tactics make it possible to deliver propaganda attacks to maximum effect to achieve the following objectives:

- to discredit the Soviet social and state system and "prove" that the very foundations of this system are deep in crisis;

- to encourage nationalist prejudice and stimulate the survivals of the past;

- to stimulate interest in the political aspects of religion;

- to instigate discontent, dissatisfaction with life, work and material conditions;

- to arouse unhealthy interest in negative facts and events;

- to blow up rumours and all sorts of speculation with regard to upcoming economic and political moves by the government, important events, changes, decisions, etc.

This "collection" of conceptual directives reflects only some aspects of anti-socialist disinformation. Many subjects used in broadcasting become long-term propaganda campaigns, such as insinuations about events in Afghanistan and Poland, the "Soviet military threat", "human rights", the "Jewish question", the "position of Moslems in the USSR", the "defence of dissidents", who are being allegedly persecuted in the USSR, the "problem of emigration", etc.

All these campaigns are artificially kept going by deliberate dramatisation of events, by lies and fabrications, by drawing into discussions some well-known personalities in the West: scientists, actors, artists, writers and politicians. Such massive, concentrated radio propaganda is aimed at shaking the ideological

principles of Soviet people, at nurturing doubts and uncertainty in their minds, at making them see events at a different angle, and be more critical of the life around them. To retain the aura of objectivity, the propaganda-mongers of the Voice of America from time to time add to their programmes a carefully dosed criticism of the bourgeois way of life, of certain unimportant aspects of Washington's external and domestic policies, some cultural phenomena, etc. But this criticism is very limited and it is made entirely for the purpose of making their broadcasts sound more credible in order to instil the illusion of impartiality.

Specialists in psychological warfare are aware of the fact that much of what they put on the air is either difficult or even impossible to verify. Besides, any desire to get at the truth is hedged around with many class and political barriers. So it happens, as Lenin said, that "it is easy to tell an untruth, but sometimes it takes a long time to *find out* the truth".¹

In the view of the theorists and practitioners of psychological warfare it should be free from any inhibitions. In its broadcasts the Voice of America, for example, draws on anonymous sources, relates the versions of events put out by anti-socialist elements and transmits thinly veiled instigatory statements. Very often high-ranking officials take part in these broadcasts. American presidents, for example, make frequent statements to correspondents in connection with the "week of enslaved nations", which in the American political parlance is just another word for the socialist countries. Other contributors to VOA programmes who make their provocative and malicious attacks on socialism are renegades of all stripes, the social dregs of society. In

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 469.

1983, the Voice of America on several occasions made its microphone available to anti-Sovieteers Bukovsky and Maximov, the former ambassadors of the Polish People's Republic to the USA and Japan Romuald Spasowski and Zdzislaw Rurarz, respectively, the traitor Grigorenko, and to many of those who do not represent anyone, except maybe the CIA, the USIA, the pathetic emigre "unions", and, of course, the secret services in capitalist countries.

No small part in the psychological war against the socialist countries is played by the BBC. This biggest radio corporation in Britain is particularly proud of its "honesty", "independence", and "objectivity", and is always talking about these virtues in its broadcasts. The BBC management often quotes Winston Churchill as saying that there are three neutral powers in Europe: Sweden, Switzerland, and the BBC. Actually, BBC programmes beamed to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries border on subversion, which is impermissible from the point of view of international law, especially when it comes from a state-run information agency as is the BBC. The main direction of this propaganda is a desire to discredit socialism, to slander the USSR so as to put it in a bad light in the eyes of other peoples, and, finally, to drive a wedge between the fraternal countries. The BBC, for example, never tires of reminding its listeners of the old indignities that Russian czarism inflicted upon the Poles, of telling them that Poland has "lost its sovereignty". In its broadcasts to Hungary the BBC regales listeners with stories about how the Russian empire took part in the suppression of the 1849 uprising, and with flummery about the "non-equivalent" exchange between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. The Bulgarians are told that their attachment to the Soviet bloc cramps the

development of their national culture. These and other subjects of this kind have become a staple diet in BBC broadcasts for other socialist countries, too.

In carrying out individual operations of the psychological war the BBC pursues short-term and long-term goals. In the words of the directors of this radio corporation the BBC is trying to have its foot in the door and in this way to allow bourgeois ideas and information to seep out to socialist society. This is the short-term goal. But over the long term the BBC wants nothing less than to see the Soviet system drifting towards the existing Western models.

The imperialists also use radio propaganda directly against the personnel of the Soviet armed forces and those of other socialist countries. In the 1970s, radio programmes designed for the army were few and apparently unconnected, whereas in the 1980s they have become a standing feature and take up a considerable part in the overall volume of broadcasting. Radio Free Europe is particularly keen on military subjects.

Analysing the content and the nature of broadcasts from the above radio stations, one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that radio propaganda is the main tool of psychological warfare. In actual fact these radio centres are not just propaganda organisations, or much less technical complexes. Each one of them is a nest of espionage, or a large apparatus for ideological sabotage and psychological warfare. CIA and USIA instructions and studies made by some bourgeois theorists of psychological warfare give radio propaganda priority in the vast complex of aggressive actions in the sphere of social consciousness. Bourgeois specialists of psychological warfare believe that the programmes of the Voice of America, BBC, Deutsche Welle and other such stations are the most effective instrument of penetra-

tion into the hearts and minds of the citizens of the socialist countries. This is why, according to these specialists, this decisive channel of ideological penetration into the socialist world must be exploited at whatever cost. Such views, which are not entertained by armchair scientists alone, reflect the strategic line of bourgeois propaganda.

BOURGEOIS PRESS—INSTRUMENT OF DISINFORMATION

Marx and Engels regarded book printing as one of the greatest discoveries by human reason. Johann Gutenberg's invention of an integrated system of book printing caused a genuine revolution (the creation of matrices) in the field of information. In the seventeenth century, the first periodicals—newspapers—appeared in Europe. With the improvement of the techniques of printing and dissemination of printed matter, and with the growing circulation of books and periodicals, the role of this type of information grew rapidly. Today this is one of the most fundamental and effective methods of information diffusion.

According to the latest data released by UNESCO in 1980, there were 8,500 daily newspapers in the world with a total of 550 million copies. The Soviet Union holds a leading place for the number of periodicals per one thousand of the population (about 400 copies). The distribution of newspapers varies greatly from one country to another. The developing countries, for example, with more than two-thirds of the population of the globe, produce only 40 percent of the total number of newspapers, their circulation constituting only one-sixth of the total of newspapers produced in the advanced countries. About thirty states have only one

newspaper, and more than ten countries have no daily newspapers at all. As for the capitalist world, its newspapers are getting more and more concentrated in the hands of a small group of proprietors, which reflects the growing centralisation of political and ideological manipulation of the minds of millions of people.

In addition to newspapers there are also many other periodicals (more than 400 thousand periodicals, according to UNESCO) and books. The latter have always been the most lasting and fundamental instrument of affecting human consciousness. A newspaper can affect (primarily and as a rule) a person's current stock of information, whereas a book can affect his world outlook, his life-long principles and his general understanding of reality. According to UNESCO, the total output of all books in just one year comes to 10 billion. This makes 700,000 book titles, 85 percent of which are printed in the advanced countries. Significantly, the Soviet Union holds first place both for the number of book titles and for their print-run.

In psychological warfare the press is used to serve different purposes. Almost every capitalist country has several national dailies and weeklies. Subscribing to *The New York Times*, for example, are 75 percent of newspaper editors, 55 percent of government officials, 40 percent of college and university presidents, 50 percent of leaders of military departments and organisations. This makes *The New York Times* (and other national newspapers) the press of the ruling elite. But there is also the press for those who are ruled. Typical of this press is a plethora of entertaining materials, direct and blunt judgement, primitive conclusions which some of the bourgeois publishers feed into what they believe is their "people's press" in order to bring it closer to the "popular taste".

The capitalist state uses its national, regional, local bourgeois newspapers, their morning, afternoon, evening and Sunday editions for massive, systematic pressure on the population in the spirit of anti-Sovietism. Juggling with stereotypes and pseudo-facts is meant to browbeat public opinion into accepting any anti-Soviet aggressive militaristic actions of the ruling class. Such leading capitalist newspapers as *The New York Times*, the *London Times*, *Le Monde* of Paris, the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and some other papers bristle with anti-Soviet inventions, attacks, innuendos, commentaries, and news articles always given undue prominence in order to attract the readers' attention. The bourgeois press is like a monstrous octopus stretching its tentacles around the man in the street. The population of capitalist countries, or at least a large part of it, is the captive of the press, its political assessments, its psychological images and its ideas. The bourgeois sociologist Gabriel Tarde, back at to beginning of this century, wrote that the press of free enterprise engages in "social piracy", making inroads into the minds of millions of people.¹

There is nothing accidental about it because the imperialist press serves the interests of certain monopoly groups and is both their political mouthpiece and instrument whereby they lend their influence on society. Analysing the role played by bourgeois newspapers in the class struggle Lenin very aptly summed up some of the publications which have survived to this day. For example, he called the *London Times* the organ of the British conservative bourgeoisie² which runs British

¹ See G. Tarde, *L'opinion et la foule*, Felix Alcan, editeur, Paris, 1901, p. 50.

² See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, 1974, pp., 270, 569.

politics. Referring to *Frankfurter Zeitung* he wrote that this is the richest and the most influential newspaper in Germany.¹ The French *Le Temps* is, in Lenin's words, "the organ of the ruling money-bags of France".² Lenin's assessments of these newspapers hold true for all the other bourgeois publications that serve the corporate interests in capitalist countries, that shape the psychological and ideological climate of society and that take part in the shaping of the atmosphere of the psychological war. The journalists themselves, those paid manipulators of social consciousness, can neither conceal nor deny this fact. Two teachers at Duke University (USA) write that thirty major newspapers and magazines in the United States, notably *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* decide what millions of Americans must think about, how to act, whom to vote for, whom to hate and whom to fear. These publications epitomise the will of the powers-that-be in America.³ It is hard to disagree with this expose of the social role of the American bourgeois press and the part it plays in the psychological war.

The press is used in the psychological war in order to build up mass psychosis, hysteria as the specific conditions of social consciousness which would make it easier for the ruling class to carry out militarist ventures. About the most skillful of all in rallying the press for such undertakings was nazi propaganda.⁴ The nazi Ministry of Propaganda demanded that the mass me-

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. 13, 1978, p. 492.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, 1972, p. 431.

³ See David L. Paletz and Robert M. Entman, *Media, Power, Politics*, The Free Press, New York, 1981.

⁴ See *German Psychological Warfare*. Ed. by Ladislav Farago, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1942.

dia, at a signal from above, should fling people into a frenzy of rage and fury, sow hatred and suspicion for all non-Aryans.

Many bourgeois psychological war media have clearly adopted the methods of nazi propaganda and make wide use of the press for building up tensions, for creating an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. The capitalist ideological market offers all kinds of anti-Soviet literature, some of it written in an apocalyptic spirit. In 1978, for example, a book appeared in London and other Western capitals, called *The Third World War*. Edited by the British General John Hackett, this book, with a pseudo-scientific scenario, contains some sinister prophecies and even more sinister details about a future nuclear holocaust. To make still greater impression on their reader the authors of this opus give the exact date, month and year (1985) when, in their view, a third world war was to begin.

In 1982-1983 alone the CIA and the USIA released a number of bogus studies about Soviet military might, and the situation in Afghanistan and Poland. These concoctions came out in massive circulations and in many languages, spreading falsehoods and slander all over the world. As a rule, these are good-looking pocket-sized brochures with colour illustrations and with numerous references to big names. The brochures are full of analogies and comparisons. However, in spite of all that, they are clearly intended for an ingenuous and credulous reader. For example, as soon as the USSR published the book *Whence the Threat to Peace*¹ which shattered the Pentagon's spurious arguments in its concoction *Soviet Military Power*, the

¹ See *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Military Publishing House, USSR Ministry of Defence, Moscow, 1984.

entire edifice of false evidence produced by the American disinformers collapsed.

Anti-Soviet "literature" (in the form of numerous books and brochures) is a *concrete instrument of psychological warfare*, which paralyses the will of ordinary people to fight against the threat of war and makes them think that a nuclear conflict is inevitable. This is how the propaganda-mongers are preparing the "human material" for the imperialist armies and how people are conditioned to think about the Soviet Union as some sort of nuclear demon. The bourgeois press tries hard to create anti-Soviet stereotypes and then manipulates them, fostering all kinds of distorted ideas about real facts, events and situations.

Bourgeois propaganda agencies also use the press as a weapon of subversion against the socialist community. For this purpose the United States, West Germany, Britain and other capitalist countries publish books, brochures, leaflets and other materials in the languages of the peoples of the USSR and in the languages of the other socialist countries. They have set up a whole "industry" of subversive dissident literature whose contributors are renegades, defectors and traitors. These books are edited and published by the special services of the United States and other capitalist countries. In March 1981, US special services set up an organisation, the Association of Russian-Born Writers whose job it is to "develop" anti-Soviet themes. Operating in Britain is an organisation called "The Coordinating Centre for the Dissident Movement in the Socialist Countries". Its charter specifies that one of its tasks is to produce and smuggle subversive materials into target areas. Incidentally, Soviet border guards and customs officers confiscate from foreign nationals hundreds of thousands of anti-Soviet books and bro-

chures which they try to smuggle into the Soviet Union. In this case the bourgeois press acts as a concrete subversive weapon in psychological warfare.

This aggression helps maintain in social and individual consciousness various stable prejudices, illusions and erroneous views. The bourgeois press has become adept at such activities and now has a vast experience of social demagoguery and political disinformation. For example, if we look at the activities of the newspaper tycoon Axel Springer in West Germany we can see that they concentrate all the makings of the propaganda machinery which turns the truth into disinformation. His publications *Bild-Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, and others convey the reader into the world of the businessman who is out only for himself, the petty bourgeois and philistine, the world of supersex, pseudo-entertainment and sensationalism. Public opinion is largely influenced by these publications which act upon people like a mind-warping narcotic drug. Springer who owns 86 percent of the national newspapers in West Germany and who supplies 90 percent of all the Sunday perusal, feeds the ideological market with 25 million copies of newspapers. All this reading matter which has all the trappings of classical bourgeois values and private enterprise has a large dose of anti-Sovietism. The Springer newspaper concern has earned for itself a reputation of the flag-ship of the Cold War, the armour-bearer of the most reactionary forces of West Germany and of American imperialism.

The press of other capitalist countries has the same social message as that of the Springer concern. Even if you take a newspaper which always stresses its "liberal" and "objective" attitude—*The New York Times*—the picture will be essentially the same. This is one of the oldest bourgeois daily newspapers in the United States

(on weekdays it has some 70 pages and its Sunday edition expands to over 600 pages) which can even chide the government, the President and Congress in order to win popularity with its readers. But this criticism is limited only to secondary issues. On questions like defence programmes, the situation in Poland, Afghanistan, and the Middle East, *The New York Times* stands solidly behind the aggressive and anti-Soviet policies of the Washington Administration and its leaders.

Another well-known publication, *US News & World Report* specialises in anti-Soviet fabrications. Almost all of its issues contain filthy inventions, such as the slanderous allegation that Soviet troops continued their "carpet bombings of Herat", that "half the city was leveled and an estimated 3,000 civilians killed".¹ The authors of this article apparently feel completely unconcerned about the fact that this "information" is entirely groundless.

As for belles lettres, the picture is very much the same. The Western reader finds himself almost completely cut off from books by Russian and Soviet authors. For example, over the past three years an average of 4-6 titles by Soviet authors have been published in West Germany a year. Sometimes books by progressive writers from capitalist countries are published in the USSR in much larger editions than in their home countries. At the same time some rabid anti-Sovietees in the United States, West Germany, Britain and France publish slanderous lampoons about the Soviet Union. This cannot by any means be called serious literature, which fact alone shows that the West, or rather, the capitalist West, is interested not so much in the humanistic association of national literatures

¹ See *US News & World Report*, August 1, 1983, p. 22.

and the press, as in a verbal slugfest turning into an all-out psychological war. It is worthy of note that the gigantic stream of the bourgeois press is roughly divided into newspapers meant specially for the capitalist elite, and those for the so-called mass reader. This means that the volume, content and the nature of information change from one newspaper to another. But all bourgeois publications have a pronounced anti-Soviet bias.

The attitude of the bourgeois press to socialist reality is determined by two principles. The first principle is to show certain events and phenomena in the socialist countries in the darkest possible colours. The bourgeois media are even instructed to present the realities of socialist life in a way that would turn the reader off. And this is exactly what the bourgeois press is doing.

The second principle is to keep from the public all that is positive in the socialist countries. By following this principle the bourgeois press raises a barrier to truthful, objective information. Two thousand years ago Cicero summed up this method as "cum tacent clamant" (their silence screams).

TELEVISION, THE INSTRUMENT OF MANIPULATION

No other information phenomenon has ever exerted such tremendous influence on the life of society over such a short period of time as has television. In a period that has spanned fifty odd years (since the first experimental broadcasts) television has bodily entered every home in the economically advanced countries. According to some reports, there are about 800 million TV sets in the world, and more than two billion people watch TV programmes regularly. There is a number of reasons behind this. In the first place, TV programmes

are easy to understand (reading books and newspapers requires a minimum of literacy). Television creates the effect of personal participation in the event; and finally this success of television, according to psychologists, is linked to the fact that man receives up to 40 percent of all sensuous information about the world around us through his eyes, which requires no verbal or written description, however elementary. The information the TV audience thus receives is visually comprehensive and therefore easy to understand.

And since the TV set is not only a major source of information but also a source of entertainment, the average family spends considerable time watching TV programmes. According to some foreign sociologists, the average Englishman spends twelve years out of the 70 years of his life with his goggle box. In the USA, the average family spends 6.2 hours a day in front of the TV screen; 95 percent of the Japanese watch TV programmes every day, 84.7 percent of the French spend most of their free time watching television.

The only two things that people in the capitalist countries spend more time on than TV watching is work and sleep. The best time for viewing is between 19.00 and 23.00, when tens of millions of people sit in front of their TV sets. In the United States, where television is in the hands of private companies, these viewing hours are literally stuffed with commercial advertising (from consumer goods to news publicity). In his book *The Electric Mirror. Politics in an Age of Television*, Sig Mickelson, chief of Encyclopaedia Britannica's broadcast organisation, writes that television, with its avalanche of commercial advertising, shapes the taste and requirements of the population, and its attitude to practically all political problems. The authorities know that, continues Mickelson, and make wide

use of television for molding the consciousness of the people in line with current bourgeois standards.

What makes teleinformation so attractive is the illusion of personal participation, of being close to events. Man is used to sitting comfortably at home, watching programmes broadcast directly from historic meetings and conferences, from a flying spaceship, from the surface of the Moon, from the Olympic games, from distant continents. Television has brought the whole world to his home, has made accessible what but a few years ago he could see only in his wildest dreams. In other words, television as a powerful medium of mass communication has enabled people to "be *there* ", to co-experience the dramatic collisions of human life.

And this excellent mass medium is used in bourgeois society in the interests of the ruling class as a vehicle of commercial advertising and as a powerful instrument of psychological and ideological manipulation of the masses. The methods of this manipulation are both simple and effective. A considerable part of bourgeois TV broadcasting is entertainment and is meant for emotional perception. This is why the programme managers put special emphasis on *manipulation with illusions*. For example, they speak about the possibility of getting rich, of earning lots of money, of being successful in life. This is done not only with the help of feature films but also by showing carefully selected documentaries. Illusions hold an important place in human thinking, create ephemeral ideas about society: a society of equal opportunities, or equal chance, a society which is open and free. And this is where the television machine of dreams has its field day. Disappointed, and often destitute people clutch at this "prosperity" phantom as their last chance in life. Methods like this are meant to create new myths about "Ameri-

can exclusiveness", about the latent possibilities of society which, according to their authors, has not yet exhausted its potential.

Another television trick of manipulation is the creation of an *illusion of debate* to give the impression that different opinions and points of view can be freely contested in public. The aim of this trick is to create an illusion of impartiality and objectivity of information. A well rehearsed discussion, and a heated verbal slugfest (on some insignificant question) creates a semblance of a serious discussion in which different opinions and different positions are matched. For instance, the unpopularity of the militaristic policy of the Reagan Administration was the subject of a veritable battle of words in American television studios, which was meant to prove that any other alternatives to this policy were no better than the present course of the Administration. The conclusion that one inevitably drew from the "battle of ideas" was that the "least of all evils" should be approved and supported. Actually, the altercation between presidential contenders, the speeches of bourgeois politicians whose point of view is slightly out of step with the official course is nothing but a carefully planned and contrived political spectacle in which the words said today mean nothing for the practical performance of tomorrow. As one bourgeois journalist has remarked, of all the promises Reagan made on the eve of his election as president, he has kept only those that he gave to the Pentagon, and treats the others as expendable material of the election campaign.

Another ploy of bourgeois television is the use of rhetoric, or *manipulation of clichés and stereotypes*. For example, the US TV commentators David Brinkley and Walter Cronkite juggle around with loaded terms (which are skillfully interplayed with visual images),

such as the "Soviet threat", the "iron curtain", "totalitarian society", "Marxist dogmatists", "red terror", "another ploy", etc. Frequent repetition of these words accompanied by pictures (a soldier in a fur hat with ear flaps and a red star, a tank with Soviet military insignia, the Kremlin towers, etc.) shapes a false but stable image in the minds of viewers. This is why a political commentary is often given with the visual support of pictures which in the minds of the viewers are interpreted as communists, Marxists and other "undesirable elements", as the "worst enemies" of the United States.

Bourgeois television wields such influence with its audience also because it places *great emphasis on the visual and imagery effect* while commentaries serve as supporting material. Such utilisation of television in America is meant for emotional, psychological perception of reality, and not for intellectual perception. Political programmes are thickly laced with chicanery that obfuscates the substance of the matter.

These, and many other tricks used in bourgeois television, are widely used in the psychological war for the militarisation of people's consciousness in capitalist countries and for influencing the thinking of TV viewers in socialist countries. The numerous relay stations along the borders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR beam numerous programmes from Western television studios. The USIA and the CIA are taking additional measures to make still wider use of television in their subversive activities against the socialist countries. Plans are afoot in the West for organising subversive television broadcasting via space satellites, such as INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite) which would cover a large number of countries. Certain political quarters in the USA are insisting on still wider use of subversive television

broadcasting to the socialist countries.

Bourgeois television, which is largely commercial (55-60 percent of American television programmes are commercials) and entertainment (20 percent), is not just anti-Soviet or anti-communist in a purely political sense. Its other important function is to generate various anti-socialist campaigns. Bourgeois television spouts reports and film strips about the "strangling of democracy in Poland", reports from Afghanistan specially concocted for this purpose (mostly with the participation of counter-revolutionary elements operating out of Pakistan), doctored film shots and commentaries about the situation in the Middle East. The implication of all this propaganda material is "Soviet intervention", "the Red threat", "communist expansion". The idea of this propaganda barrage is to make the viewer see all social ills of bourgeois society, the aggressive actions of the NATO military, the Israeli henchmen of the United States through the prism of the demoniac role of the "Soviets". No wonder that a considerable proportion of the petty and middle bourgeoisie are the captives of political and social stereotypes and commentaries of bourgeois television.

Another typical feature of television propaganda is *militarisation* of its programmes. There is hardly a news release or a political commentary that does not contain "fresh proof" of the growing "aggressiveness" of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and especially of the USSR. Television corporations turn out anti-Soviet "spectaculars", like the four-hour film about a third world war which was first shown in the United States in January and February, 1982. The NBC created this film in the spirit of unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda, complete with all accessories such as a Soviet landing in Alaska, the destruction of American oil pipelines,

the horror scenes of the cruelty of the "Reds", and a nuclear duel that wiped out the whole world. After watching this film a politically immature person feels depressed and shocked by the gloom and doom of what has been shown on the TV screen. Such concoctions paralyse his will and leave him for a long time under the impression that war is not only possible but in fact inevitable. This manipulation with the consciousness of the masses clears the deck for militaristic forces which seek support from the public opinion of their country.

The Pentagon plays no small part in the production of telefilms about war. Senator William Fulbright writes that during the war in Vietnam spurious plots were written for television films meant to convince the American people that the United States was waging a "just" war and that the American expeditionary corps was performing a "heroic mission".¹ For a long time the American television audience trusted these fabrications commissioned by the highest political bodies.

In September 1982, a serialisation of a film, called *In America's Defense*, began in the United States. This new production was about the infiltration of communism into the United States, about the cloak-and-dagger activities of KGB agents inside the State Department and Department of Defense. This anti-Soviet film was supposed to prove that the USSR had a hand in "international terrorism", in various seditious activities in Latin America, and was behind anti-American movements in Europe. This poisonous teletrash is fed to millions of people every day.

¹ See J. W. Fulbright, *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*, Live-right, New York, 1970.

Chapter 6

THE MACHINERY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Psychological warfare has long since become part and parcel of the national policy of many capitalist states. Ideological confrontation is the concern of not only relevant organisations and departments, but also the top-ranking officials of imperialist countries. For example, the former US President Jimmy Carter personally directed the psychological war against the socialist countries, its content and general orientation. For this purpose he held weekly "private sessions" with editors and journalists from the nation's leading publications and just as confidentially suggested the interpretations to be put on certain events.

This practice was adopted by Ronald Reagan. During his regular meetings with the heads of ideological departments and subversive organisations he plunks down his orders to the "free press", radio and television to step up the psychological war and to further intensify ideological subversion. For example, the head of the US Administration initiated a global propaganda campaign following the KAL spy plane incident. Using demagogic rhetoric, the President tried to compromise the Soviet Union and to whitewash the United States which was responsible for the tragedy.

Such examples are more of a rule than an exception. Imperialist leaders regard the psychological war not only as an instrument of psychological and ideological pressure, but also as an instrument of infiltration into

the socialist community. For this purpose the strategy and major operations of this war are planned and directed by specialised government agencies.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

Holding an increasingly important place in the structure of the political power of capitalist countries are specialised agencies whose job it is to plan, organise, direct and coordinate subversive psychological and ideological operations against existing socialism, all progressive regimes and national liberation movements.

In August 1953, the US Information Agency (USIA) was set up. In 1977, it was reorganised into the International Communication Agency (ICA). In August 1982, President Reagan signed a decree to give this agency its old name (USIA). Why was it necessary?

An official press-release circulated by the State Department admitted the fact that the ICA was very unpopular among Washington's propaganda staff. Nor was it popular abroad. The American authorities "explained" that in the United States and other countries people tended to get the ICA mixed up with the CIA.

We would like to note here that in actual fact those who got the two names mixed up were not far wrong. The ICA and the CIA had been working in close contact to stoke the flames of the psychological war, to fuel subversive and espionage activities against the socialist countries. The lies streaming from the ICA complemented the actions of the cloak-and-dagger artists, and disinformation was often followed up by subversive actions. The change of labels only goes to show the scandalous unpopularity of the chief propaganda department of the USA which is aiding and

abetting the ideological and psychological war against the peaceful forces, against existing socialism.

Under the USIA statute, its director is at the same time the chief adviser to the US President on questions of information and on all subversive ideological and psychological operations. Actually, the USIA is not only the ideological vehicle for corporate interests and for the top executive power in the United States, but also serves as the president's brain trust which carries a lot of clout in political decision-making. Beginning in 1981, the USIA has been sending its representatives to the meetings of the National Security Council (NSC). The USIA authorities operate in close contact and cooperation with the CIA, the NSC, the NSA (National Security Agency), with various strategic planning bodies, and with the US State Department. In substance, the USIA is the leading body of the psychological war in the capitalist world, which coordinates within NATO the ideological and psychological subversive actions by relevant organisations. This is precisely how Sorensen, one of its former directors, defined its role. The USIA has 210 bureaus in 127 countries. Operating within the framework of the USIA is the Worldnet international telesystem which was organised in the early 1980s. The Worldnet keeps Washington in touch with the propaganda services of American embassies via video and radio communication facilities. The Worldnet linkup was used by Jeane Kirkpatrick (on the Grenada invasion), by Henry Kissinger (on Central American problems), by Ronald Reagan (his January 1984 speech on US-Soviet relations), by George Shultz (shortly before the Stockholm conference), and by some other American leaders.¹ This system serves as a tool for briefing

¹ See *US News & World Report*, March 5, 1984, p. 61.

USIA propaganda bodies and for brainwashing those who are invited to US embassies for film showings.

In early 1983, the USIA personnel was 8,000 professional propaganda dealers and specialists in the planning and execution of ideological operations against socialism. The US government spends \$500 million for the maintenance of all these people. The expenditures on psychological warfare within the framework of the USIA only stand at \$2.5 billion, while the total expense (considering the operation of all other "kindred" organisations) is \$7 billion.

The agency consists of a large number of services, departments, posts, press centres, etc. The largest and most important elements of its structure are services concerned with drafting information programmes, with radio propaganda, films and television, culture. After President Reagan had approved Project Truth in September 1981, the USIA had three new services. One of them is concerned with the publication of a special bulletin for its ramified network. This bulletin contains a detailed explanation as to the different directions of ideological subversion against the USSR. In it special emphasis is placed on the "growing Soviet military threat". Another service is concerned with quick response to the foreign policy actions of the socialist countries which are aimed at consolidating peace, promoting detente and international security. The third service which puts out bulletins about the USA is busy with propagandising the attractive aspects of the American way of life.

The USIA has a large number of regional departments which perform various functions of psychological warfare specifically for certain target areas which sometimes include several countries. Acting under the guise of international information and cultural ex-

change, all these services and departments are expected to carry out activities which amount to aggression in the sphere of social consciousness.

When the White House takes a political decision, the NSC gives it a certain propaganda twist by elaborating its presentation to the world public and by specifying the contents of some ideological operations of the US Administration. In other words, the NSC supplies strategic guidelines to the USIA which, in turn, gives it an ideological interpretation, justifies, explains and comments on it. For instance, the discriminatory trade sanctions against the USSR and Poland over the introduction of martial law in the latter country were justified by the "legitimacy" of US intervention in the affairs of sovereign nations allegedly on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act. The mendacious and untenable arguments used by the USIA and the NSC are not in the least bit embarrassing to the instigators of this anti-socialist campaign who act upon the principle of bourgeois propaganda: an oft repeated lie can eventually be taken for the truth.

The USIA issues many journals and bulletins in several languages. These periodicals include some theoretical journals, such as the *Problems of Communism*, also some express publications, books, and specialised materials (press reviews, speeches by US leaders, commentaries on current events). All this literature is disseminated through hundreds of information centres in more than one hundred countries.

In addition to that, the USIA has powerful radio facilities broadcasting 2,000 hours a week. Almost half this time is taken up with broadcasts to the socialist countries. At the same time the USIA makes and disseminates specialised television programmes (more than 2,000 programmes in 62 languages a year) in almost

120 countries. These programmes speak for themselves. One TV film-roll circulated in 1982 was about Poland. It openly supported the counter-revolutionaries, falsified the history of Russo-Polish relations, and sought to prove that what was responsible for the crisis in the country was its socialist system. In that same year the USIA circulated some TV films that contained slanderous "inside" reports about dushman bands in Afghanistan. Another film was stuffed with falsehoods about chemical warfare that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was allegedly waging in Kampuchea, stories about the "hand of Moscow" and other such propaganda trash.

The USIA has linked its activities with the CIA. The USIA personnel camouflage their activities with allegations that they are probing the effectiveness of the ideological impact of their materials, but in actual fact they engage in intelligence work. The USIA wants to know who directs the anti-war movement in European countries, why anti-American sentiments are snowballing throughout the world, what are the propaganda plans of progressive organisations, etc. The USIA keeps tabs on "undesirable" elements in different regions, also on those who are preventing the American imperialists from expanding their dominance.

In August 1981, a top-level conference was held to work out a long-term strategy for the USIA. The meeting was chaired by President Reagan. The conference set two long-term tasks for this chief department of psychological warfare. The first task was to present the United States as the bulwark of peace and to make the "free world" sympathetic to America's defence efforts. These ideas, in the view of their authors, had to be brought home to people both inside and outside the United States. The second task was to warn the world

about the growing "military threat" from the USSR and to rally public opinion for a possible war against it with all available means. Charles Wick, a rich Californian businessman who donated \$15 million to the Reagan election fund and who, in return, was given the post of USIA director, thinks that an all-out war of ideas with the Soviet Union is now underway, and in this war the West is free to use all means at its disposal. This approach shows that all elements of the giant machine of psychological warfare in the United States have been set in motion. Project Truth and other programmes approved by the US Administration served merely as doctrinal directives of the undeclared ideological and psychological war against the USSR, against other socialist countries, and against all peace-loving forces in the world.

The USIA closely coordinates its subversive efforts with relevant bodies in other capitalist countries. In Britain these problems are handled by the Foreign Office which, in turn, exercises control over the British Council, the Central Office of Information and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The statutes of these organisations speak of cultural exchange, bringing the British way of life and thinking to the world, about popularisation of British culture. In actual fact, however, these information centres have ulterior motives other than those just mentioned. As a rule, the underlying theme of Western radio broadcasting and publications is anti-Sovietism. There is nothing accidental about the fact that the next biggest radio station of the capitalist world after the Voice of America is the BBC. Although this "corporation" is a government-run organisation, the authorities usually refer to it as a social institution. That they do in order to camouflage its political designs and to give radio propaganda dealers a

free hand. The British centres of psychological warfare are known for their high professionalism, for their more subtle interpretation of events, for their desire to maintain their reputation as an independent and objective source of information.

The British Council which lays down the rules for ideological and psychological subversion, devotes a great deal of attention to dissidents, social renegades and traitors whom it passes off as "human rights champions", "freedom fighters", "prisoners of conscience". Political commentaries, news, reviews and film serialisations put out by the BBC are not just disinformation and camouflaged lies and insinuations, but vehicles of psychological warfare. Acting in accordance with the recommendations of the British Council as an official government body, British radio propaganda very often has strong overtones of political provocation. The British agencies of psychological warfare are the first to pick up the fundamental theses of US foreign policy propaganda, and "follow up" the most malicious anti-Soviet prevarications. Just like in the United States, British information agencies coordinate their actions with the intelligence service and other special services, which explains why the British Council, the Central Office of Information, and the BBC take such an active part in numerous subversive activities against the socialist countries.

Over the past several years the British Defence Ministry has been taking a most active part in the psychological war against socialism. Taking advantage of the chauvinistic and jingoist sentiments among the British petty and middle bourgeoisie following the Falkland crisis, the Defence Ministry has stepped up anti-Soviet propaganda. At the end of 1982, for example, the Defence Ministry made and released a film about "the So-

viet threat". This film was shown not only at cinemas, but also at schools. The Defence Ministry has set up a special press liaison department (more than 100 personnel) whose job it is to organise, inspire and direct numerous anti-Soviet actions in the context of psychological warfare (informing public opinion about Moscow's latest "militarist" moves, about new "military preparations by the Kremlin", spreading "news" about fighting in Afghanistan and "chemical warfare in Kampuchea"). The British Defence Ministry acts in close cooperation with the Pentagon, the USIA, and the CIA for the purpose of stepping up the psychological war and making it still more ruthless.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the organisations concerned with foreign policy propaganda and psychological warfare operate under the authority of the Federal Press and Information Department. What makes this organisation different from others is that it carries out subversive actions not through official government-controlled institutions, but through so-called "public", "non-government" organisations. The Department supervises and maintains a number of large radio centres, notable among which are Radio Germany (Deutschlandfunk) and Deutsche Welle. Over the years of its existence (since 1953) Deutsche Welle has earned a reputation for open, undisguised anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. This organisation has long since specialised in the preparation and realisation of ideological and psychological subversion by slandering socialism, distorting the facts and falsifying historical events. Over the past several years this government-run organisation, on orders from the NATO, has been slanting its radio broadcasting to the servicemen of the armed forces in the socialist countries.

The West German intelligence service, Bundesnach-

richtendienst, also takes a direct part in the psychological war against the socialist and peace-loving forces. This service, with its headquarters at Pullach near Munich, not only engages in espionage work and not only spies on "undesirable elements" in West Germany, but also organises subversive activities against socialism. It uses much the same methods as the CIA, namely bribery, intimidation, blackmail, abduction, deception and disinformation.

Other capitalist countries maintain similar centres of foreign policy propaganda which also take part in the psychological war.

The staff of the government-run bodies of psychological warfare includes many so-called "Sovietologists", or experts in subversive activities against the Soviet Union. There is a whole "Sovietological industry" operating in the West today, which studies and analyses Soviet realities and works out the strategy, tactics and methods of subversion and psychological warfare. These "experts" have developed a new science that they call "Sovietology" feeding off of which are thousands of anti-Sovietees in the pay of corporate capital, many of whom pose as scholars. For example, over the past ten years several hundred such experts have been awarded Ph.D.s in Sovietology.

The number of these professional anti-Sovietees is growing, while the techniques they employ are getting more and more sophisticated. It is widely believed on the other side of the Atlantic that in the present complicated international situation the United States should get better informed about the USSR and Eastern Europe and have more specialists in the affairs of Russia and its allies. Who are these people working in the government agencies of imperialist propaganda and psychological war? Who works out the strategy, tactics,

methods and substance of subversive operations in the sphere of social consciousness?

To answer this question, let's take a closer look at the sources of Sovietology and propaganda and at those who run it in the United States. Many leading Sovietologists come from the bourgeois quarters known for their extreme anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. These people have, as a rule, received their education at privileged, aristocratic universities (Harvard, Princeton, Yale) which are open only to rich families. For example, the education fees at Harvard University are \$9,200 a year, which makes it accessible only to the bourgeois elite. Many of the leading "experts" on the Soviet Union are graduates of this university: Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Pipes, Adam Ulam, Allen Kassof, and others.

There are many Sovietologists who have betrayed socialism and become renegades, also some who have "inherited" their hostility towards socialism and who have found that being an enemy of socialism is a well-paid job. For example, Pyotr Struve, David Dollin, Nikolai Ryazanovsky, Stephan and Ethel Dann inherited anti-Sovietism from their fathers who were enemies of the October Socialist Revolution. Others betrayed the ideals of socialism later, tempted by the show windows of the bourgeois consumer society, out of vanity, cupidity, venality and social apostasy.

To spread anti-communism and anti-Sovietism they publish periodicals such as the *Problems of Communism*, the *Russian Review*, the *Slavic and East-European Journal*, and others. They write books and "manuals on communism" and encyclopaedias. In the 1970s, for example, they published an eight-volume encyclopaedia, *Marxism, Communism and Western Society*.

Sovietologists engage not only in theoretical research.

As a rule, most of the well-known Sovietologists hold important government jobs which enable them to influence many aspects of American-Soviet relations, the content and character of foreign policy propaganda and of the psychological war. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, Richard Pipes, Eugene Rostow, Robert Strausz-Hupe, Richard Allen, Andrew Blane, Alex Inkeles, Dillon Douglas, and many other Sovietologists act not merely as advocates of anti-communism but as the organisers and sponsors of ideological subversion against the USSR and other socialist countries. Sovietologists are usually recruited for important government jobs such as advisers and assistants to American presidents on foreign policy matters. Some of them are put at the head of various divisions of the USIA, CIA, NSA, of the vast machinery of psychological warfare, also of some Pentagon departments.

"PUBLIC" CENTRES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SUBVERSION

The imperialist agencies of psychological warfare operated by imperialist governments maintain a ponderous apparatus for the ideological struggle. In addition, they use a wide network of "public" organisations. The existence of these is closely linked to the stake the capitalist class has in stepping up the ideological war against the socialist countries and progressive organisations in capitalist countries. On the other hand, many "public" centres of psychological warfare are directly supported by the government which finds it expedient that many of the actions carried out by these non-government bodies should be their own responsibility and not of the government. There is nothing accidental about the fact that to all formal protests and to all

manifestations of anger by progressive organisations over the provocative activities of these "public" centres of psychological warfare there is always one answer: "In our country ideas can be expressed freely... The government bears no responsibility for the content of the broadcasts (articles, materials) of such and such an organisation..." It is, of course, very convenient to have a pat answer to all questions of this sort, although it is no longer a secret that these "public" organisations are controlled and directed by relevant government bodies, such as the CIA.

The "public" propaganda centres exist in many forms: associations, councils, institutes, foundations, corporations, programmes, commissions, etc. There are several hundred such organisations in the United States alone, each specialising in some specific subject of ideological and psychological character. The idea is to redistribute the roles in this gigantic anti-communist orchestra which is directed from the top echelons of the government.

Ideological and psychological subversion is, as a rule, substantiated at "institutes" and scientific centres specialising in political and other problems of the socialist countries, and in drawing up recommendations for subversive operations. There are many such centres in the West. We shall mention only some of them.

The Russian Institute at Columbia University was set up by Rockefeller right after the Second World War. The main object of research is the Soviet Union. The institute trains "specialists" in different aspects of Soviet life: economic, social, military, cultural, scientific, and ethnic. More than 70 percent of the certified "Sovietologists" working in the United States today were trained at the Russian Institute. The institute is run in grand style with post-graduate and refresher courses, a

bureau of research analysis, a special department of Sovietology, etc.

The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University in the USA was founded by Herbert Hoover, an avowed anti-communist, who considered that the main objective of this centre was to expose by theoretical means the evils of Marx's teachings. The centre concentrated on expounding and writing fundamental anti-communist theoretical works meant to "topple" Marxism-Leninism. The Hoover Institution fills the "theoretical" orders of the Pentagon, the CIA, the USIA, the State Department, and the US President.

The Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University was founded a quarter of a century ago. It is sometimes referred to as an institute for the study of changes taking place in the world. This ideological centre specialises in the study of various trends in the development of the socialist countries, in the world communist movement, and in Soviet foreign policy. Its main output is programmes and recommendations for ideological and psychological acts of subversion. For a long time this institute was directed by the notorious anti-Sovieteer Zbigniew Brzezinski. The institute has prepared numerous recommendations for the special services and for information agencies in connection with the events in Poland and Afghanistan.

The Institute of Russian Studies in Massachusetts was set up in 1948 for the purpose of studying Soviet internal and foreign policy. The institute analyses the social and economic life of the USSR and its overall moral climate so as to find some "weak spots" in its socio-political system and prepares recommendations used by special services in their subversive activities. The Massachusetts centre is commissioned primarily

by the State Department, the CIA, the Pentagon and other specialised services and agencies to do research for them. The institute also sponsors international conferences, seminars and symposia of anti-Soviet character. In 1983, for example, the participants in such gatherings organised by the institute discussed the situation in Afghanistan and Poland, the "growing Soviet military might", the economic situation in the USSR, etc. After the US President had called for another crusade against the USSR and world communism, the institute, jointly with the State Department, held a theoretical conference at which ways were discussed to "democratise totalitarian regimes". Such discussions produce malicious anti-Soviet materials and concrete programmes of action which are again used by relevant services and agencies in the psychological war.

An important place in the American system of brain trusts which attends to the needs of the psychological war is held by the Rand Corporation with its headquarters at Santa Monica, California. Rand's main specific feature is that, in spite of the fact that it is regarded as a private organisation, it is fully financed by the Federal Government and is commissioned to work out themes, concepts, scenarios and socio-political models primarily by the Pentagon, and also by the CIA and the USIA. About a thousand skilled employees of this corporation work on a wide range of problems involving the study of possible strategic targets, development of different types of armed forces, space systems, and prosecution of the psychological war. In addition to its own staff, Rand also uses the services of several hundred consultants, such as the Director of the Hudson Institute, Herman Kahn, the father of the neutron bomb, Samuel Cohen, ex-State Secretary Henry Kissinger, former Secretaries of Defense James Schlesinger

and Harold Brown, and others.

The activities of the Rand Corporation are shrouded in secrecy. It is here that many new strategic directives and concepts are generated with regard to the utilisation of armed forces, to the development of space "defence", to total psychological war, and sweeping subversive operations against socialism. Rand cultivates the most reactionary, militarist sentiments. *This World* weekly, a Sunday supplement to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, writes that when Herman Kahn worked at Rand he already at that time sought to prove that a nuclear conflict was not only possible but winnable. Surprisingly, this spine-chilling idea is shared by many members of the US Administration. In 1982 it was integrated in the Pentagon's special directive worked out on Reagan's instructions. This new doctrine is based on the premise that it is possible to win a long drawn-out nuclear war. As you see, Rand's ideas are more and more taking the form of doctrines, strategic concepts which are extremely dangerous for world peace.

Rand pays a great deal of attention to providing a suitable propaganda backing for such recommendations and concepts, to developing new means of brainwashing the population of the capitalist countries and of psychological pressure upon the socialist countries. The corporation also works out guidelines for psychological warfare in peace time and war time. The President of the Rand Corporation, Donald Rice, has repeatedly emphasised that Rand's main task is to study problems of the national security of the United States, its technical, strategic, social and ideological aspects. In the view of this brain trust of American imperialism, the American-Soviet relations must be built in keeping with the United States' priorities on all key problems of global significance. This is the true face of this "private" re-

search organisation of the US militarist quarters.

There are many such "research institutions" in the United States and in other countries. In Britain, for example, such research is carried out at the International Institute for Strategic Studies which was founded in 1958. This centre is mainly concerned with military problems, with the correlation of forces in the world, the evolution of doctrines and strategic concepts. Operating on the orders of big capitalist corporations, the institute publishes reviews, reports, accounts each one of which contains the foregone conclusion: the military might of the Soviet Union is growing more rapidly than that of the Western countries and poses a grave threat to the "free world". Such "research" is controlled by the NATO circles and provides a quasi-scientific screen for Western military preparations, for further intensification of the psychological war.

Directing the work of such research centres of psychological warfare on a theoretical plane are the USIA and the CIA which also devote much attention to the practical realisation of recommendations worked out by various research centres. For this purpose the United States and other capitalist countries have set up and support various anti-Soviet organisations. Here are a few examples. Operating in the West for several decades now is the so-called Congress for Cultural Freedom used by the centres of psychological warfare as an instrument of anti-Soviet pressure upon professionals, intellectuals, workers in literature and art. The Congress puts out a number of magazines slanted towards professional groups in a number of target countries. These magazines carry the same old anti-Soviet and anti-socialist lies and insinuations. One typical exponent of such propaganda merchandise is the magazine *Culture* published in Paris. It played a prominent

role in fostering the counter-revolution in Poland.

There are many more such "public" organisations. Notable among them is the notorious Anti-Communist League which periodically convenes "world congresses"; the Committee on the Present Danger set up in the United States to keep the "Soviet threat" alive in the Western mind; the Assembly of Captive European Nations which is a tool in the hands of the CIA for interference in the affairs of the East European socialist countries.

All these "public" organisations of psychological warfare are being richly subsidised by the CIA and other intelligence and subversive government institutions in the United States and other NATO countries. In 1961, for example, Amnesty International was set up later to become a subversive organisation whose activities are spearheaded against the socialist countries. It was formally proclaimed that the main task of Amnesty International was to fight for the release of "prisoners of conscience". Actually, this organisation is richly financed by the CIA and is busy defending dissidents and traitors. For example, the anti-Sovieteer Yuri Orlov supplied Amnesty International with fabrications about "strikes" in the USSR, about "legal abuse" in the socialist countries, "human rights violations" in Soviet society. These materials were then reprinted in the anti-Soviet press outside the USSR. Amnesty International, naturally, defends this agent-provocateur. The activities of this and other similar organisations are directed at disinformation of public opinion in the West, at giving support to dissidents and to all those who sponsor slanderous anti-Soviet campaigns.

Most of the "committees" and "leagues" owe their existence to the financial support from Western intelligence services and various subversive centres. Imposing

sounding signs, elaborately formulated "programmes" and "manifestos" that camouflage these nests of reaction can delude only naive, politically immature people. All this motley anti-socialist crew of enemies of socialism has set out to prove the allegedly popular character of the struggle against the ideology and policy of communism, to create the impression that the broad segments of the population in Western countries reject Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The engineers of ideological and psychological subversion devote particularly great attention to political emigres from the socialist countries. There is a number of CIA-controlled organisations which are trying to split socialist society by stirring up dissent, a variety of social apostasy, or creating a semblance of organised opposition among intellectuals in one country or another. Using the subversive machine of bourgeois ideological sabotage, these organisations keep harping on the names of traitors to their country, men like Solzhennitsyn, Bukovsky, and Plushch, trying to build up a favourable image for them.

Taking an active part in ideological and psychological subversive activities is the so-called Popular Labour Union set up on the basis of what was left of the white emigre Russian Armed Forces' Union. Today this organisation, with its headquarters in Frankfurt on the Main, has, to all intents and purposes, become a specialised agency of the CIA, whose job it is to recruit the emigre riff-raff for anti-socialist activities.

It is worthy of note that the existing "public" organisations with whose help the imperialists are waging their psychological war are spearheaded not only at the socialist world (although this is still the main target of their subversive activities) but also against the developing countries. As anti-imperialist trends in the develop-

ing countries get stronger and stronger, propaganda agencies in the United States and the other NATO countries funnel more and more money and efforts into this "target area". One of the oldest tools of propaganda aggression of imperialism in the developing world is the Peace Corps set up by the United States in 1961. The Corps' main objective, as can be judged from its practical operations, is propaganda of the American way of life and the organisation of the struggle against "communist infiltration" in the developing countries. It has become clear to many people that Peace Corps volunteers are mostly professional spies and bourgeois propaganda-mongers seeking to keep the developing countries within the orbit of imperialist dominance.

In their ideological and psychological subversive work against the socialist and developing countries the USIA and the CIA make extensive use of so-called charity donations from billionaires and millionaires. Such donations provide the super-rich with convenient tax loopholes and at the same time serve as an additional finance source for the special services in their subversive work. Major sources of finance are the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, etc. Money from these organisations is used for the publication of anti-socialist literature, and also as handouts for political dissidents and renegades. Large sums provided by the foundations are used to sponsor various anti-communist rallies, and in the form of assistance to perspective "freedom fighters".

This is just one of the many examples of how these funds are disposed of. In 1953, the Institute for Inter-University Studies was set up in the United States. Its charter says that the struggle between the "free world" and world communism should be resolved in the minds

of the growing generation. This is why it is so important to find young men who would be able to defend and safeguard the "spiritual" values of the West. Many people thus raised and trained with the funds of this institute over the intervening period have become big-time political operators, such as Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, Special Assistant to President Wayne Valls, and many others. Significantly, the money provided by similar foundations has helped raise such loyal armour bearers of big capital in the United States as Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert McNamara, Walt Rostow, and others. The so-called party foundations in the FRG (Adenauer Foundation, Naumann Foundation, Seidel Foundation) are heavily funded by the government. Almost half of all the money it spends goes into "foreign operations".

Depending on shifts in the international political situation, the USIA, the CIA and other government agencies carry out measures to set up new "public" organisations. To counteract the anti-missile, anti-militarist movement the NATO bodies have set out to create "alternative organisations" in order to "expose" the movement for detente and peace as a "Moscow-inspired pro-communist movement". In 1982, several such "public" organisations sprang up in Britain alone, one of them headed by Winston Churchill, the late Prime Minister's grandson who is known for his anti-Soviet views. All these centres are bankrolled by the British Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Office, and various foundations instituted by the military-industrial complex.

To collect intelligence information for psychological warfare, a new spying organisation was set up in Rotterdam in 1982. This new organisation is called Iris which in Greek mythology stands for the winged chariot of the gods who used it to convey tidings from the

sky. The founders of the espionage organisation in Rotterdam put a modified interpretation on its name as a source of necessary intelligence reports. This fact alone reaffirms that with the ideological war against socialism expanding, the imperialists are "perfecting" the entire structure of the social centres of psychological warfare, and not only those run by the government.

Thus, the so-called public organisations are mere vehicles for the political decisions of the authorities in the ideological sphere. The multiplicity of functions, forms and structures of these bodies enable them to carry out large-scale ideological and psychological subversive activities against the socialist countries.

NATO'S AGENCIES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

NATO regards psychological warfare as the basic tool for weakening the ideological strength of the enemy and his morale. Field Manual 33-1 (Psychological Operations) and some other documents sum up the tasks of psychological warfare as follows:

- to undermine the morale of the armed forces personnel and the population of the enemy and to paralyse their will to fight;

- to rally the entire population behind military operations, to curb pacifist sentiments and actions;

- to ensure moral support for the operations of /US/ troops by the armed forces and the population of the allied countries in the Atlantic bloc;

- to mislead the enemy and disinform the public in order to conceal /US/ true designs;

- to neutralise the effects of the propaganda effort of the enemy, and of his ideological and political operations.

Responsibility for the realisation of these tasks has been placed upon the ramified network of the apparatus of psychological warfare. Although its organisational structure and the substance of its activities, in the views of NATO's political circles, are determined by the national commands, the main directives come from the United States which plays the dominant role in NATO.

The overall control over the preparation and conduct of NATO's psychological warfare is exercised by the Supreme Commander of NATO's joint armed forces. The principal body responsible for psychological operations is the Division of Political Affairs in NATO's International Secretariat. This department is integral to NATO's Defence Planning Committee. The Division of Political Affairs coordinates propaganda operations both between the relevant agencies of psychological warfare in the national armies and between the army headquarters and civil departments. The political department initiates conferences of the NATO Council (or its committees) on questions relating to the conduct of individual operations within the framework of the psychological war, to the improvement of its material base, and to the training of personnel. In 1983, the NATO Council discussed measures to counter the anti-missile movement in Europe. Taking part in that meeting were representatives of the defence ministries of all member countries who decided upon the creation of additional research facilities concerned with the study of Soviet propaganda and with measures to combat it. They also reviewed the possibility of supplying the media with relevant "documents" on the "dangers" of the Soviet propaganda activities.

Each one of the NATO countries has a special apparatus of psychological warfare. The best equipped in this field are the armed forces of the United States.

The strategy and character of psychological warfare are laid down by the National Security Council and are endorsed by the US President. The US Department of Defense has a special division concerned with foreign policy and military questions. Acting in conjunction with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, this division works out and plans psychological operations in war time and takes part in the USIA's campaigns in peace time.

At present the Pentagon has massive facilities of psychological warfare: about 250 radio stations and 40 television centres on all the continents. Its special PR department puts out a large number of books, brochures, journals (of up to 8,000,000 copies annually) with a markedly anti-Soviet bias, about 1,200 films, more than 3,500 television films and almost as many radio programmes. To ensure the smooth running of its propaganda machine and to fuel anti-Soviet propaganda the Pentagon spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually. In addition to that militarist propaganda octopus, the Pentagon also maintains a large number of special military units.

There is a special group of strategic operations which includes a number of battalions concerned with psychological operations with work among the population, and with the execution of special subversive actions. At the start of hostilities, most of the psychological warfare units are to be airlifted to Europe or any other theatre of operations.

The tactical units of psychological warfare can be used independently and also as part of US Army units within the NATO joint armed forces. Psychological warfare units are equipped with radio transmitters and powerful printing facilities, propaganda bombs, artillery shells and aircraft-borne containers and air balloons carrying propaganda material. These units have facili-

ties capable of producing millions of leaflets a day and numerous radio programmes, and of carrying out subversive operations. The instructions provide for the utilisation of not only the organic means but also of local radio and television facilities, and local printing equipment. The main emphasis in the preparatory work for psychological warfare by NATO's joint armed forces command has been placed on the utilisation of broadcasting and printing facilities. Psychological warfare units are also getting ready for limiting opposition and containing actions by the public, rebels and guerillas in different parts of the globe.

Psychological warfare units are free to act in defiance of international law and the accepted moral standards. For example, during the Vietnam war the Americans printed tens of millions of leaflets and counterfeit banknotes and scattered them over the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In Latin America they circulate brochures written under false names, aimed at discrediting progressive organisations and individuals by juggling facts and outright lies.

The Bundeswehr also has vast possibilities for psychological warfare, with many of its units concerned exclusively with the organisation and execution of subversive operations. The Bundeswehr has several battalions and companies of psychological warfare which in peace time are subordinate to the territorial command and in war time are used independently or attached to individual army groups. These formations are well equipped technically, which enables them to broadcast radio programmes covering a wide spectrum of the enemy armed service personnel, to disseminate millions of leaflets, to smuggle containers with literature over to the enemy side. In West Germany the Bundeswehr command pays much attention to potential psychologi-

cal war against the population of the German Democratic Republic and against the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The Bundeswehr's special school for training in psychological warfare puts the stress on the study of the experience of the Second World War, the Vietnam war and the modern subversive operations which the CIA and the West German intelligence service conduct against the socialist countries and against progressive organisations.

In addition to the psychological warfare units attached to the American and West German armed forces, there are also similar units in other armies, notably in the British Rhine Army. Although these elements are being developed and perfected within the framework of the national armed forces of each individual country, the methods and direction of their training are influenced chiefly by the American agencies of psychological warfare and by NATO directives. At their numerous strategic and tactical manoeuvres they practice-master new forms and methods of psychological warfare, better coordination between the various national bodies, and deployment of technical facilities. They also elaborate different lines of "argumentation" to be used in their ideological aggression.

Some specialised research centres in the United States, West Germany and Britain are working on projects to increase the effect of psychological pressure, to improve methods of affecting the minds of people on a mass scale. The experience of past (imperialist armies have a long record of aggressive wars) and of more recent wars is used as the groundwork for numerous instructions, rules, and field manuals for the planning and waging of psychological warfare against the socialist countries. A large number of books have been written in the NATO countries on the substance and char-

acter of this massive work. The importance attached to psychological warfare against the socialist countries points to its intensification by the USIA and the propaganda services of all imperialist states.

Research into the different aspects of this struggle in the sphere of social consciousness sometimes takes on a rather unexpected twist, revealing its utterly inhuman character. In May 1982, the American magazine *Mother Jones* carried an article by Martin Lee and Bruce Shlain about a new psychotropic substance being developed for the US Chemical Corps to be used in war.

Just imagine, write the authors, that one day you look out the window and see thousands of men and women laughing and behaving as if they were out of their minds. This is the result of BZ, the hallucinogenic, psychotropic drug which can reduce a person to paranoia and paralyse his will to resist. American General William Creasy who headed this programme believes that this is an ideal substance that can paralyse the population of whole cities. And while they continue in this state, says Creasy, they could easily be put in concentration camps and rendered "harmless". Creasy tries to prove that this is the most "humane" type of warfare.

Reading such articles which could well qualify as science fiction, one begins to understand even better that a society where such plans can even be considered and where there are generals like Creasy, is a sick society whose leaders have a warped political thinking. What else could they be if such inhuman preparations as psychotropics (the nazis, too, tried to produce them) are now viewed as the latest in the theory and practice of psychological warfare? Speaking in the House of Representatives about the results of his research, Creasy tried to put the wind up the Congressmen, saying that if BZ or a related psychochemical was adminis-

tered to members of Congress, "we could possibly have you dancing on the desks or shouting Communist speeches".¹ The Article takes the lid off the fact that the US military have been conducting the most inhuman and barbarous experiments not only in the nuclear and chemical, but also in the psychological spheres.

All this shows that the efforts to improve the methods and forms of psychological warfare rate high priority in NATO, especially in the Pentagon. The experience that the American army accumulated in Vietnam and in other parts of the world, where its troops fought dirty, often undeclared wars against progressive forces, is being "enriched" by scientific research. The process is underway of the Pentagon propaganda machine joining in the ideological subversion against the socialist countries. All these activities are being carried on in conjunction with the activities of the intelligence centres of the United States and other imperialist countries. This points to further intensification of NATO's subversive foreign policy propaganda, to still more virulent forms of the psychological war.

SPECIAL SERVICES IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

The West makes no secret of the fact that one of the organisers and prosecutors of the psychological war, besides the USIA, is the CIA. This ill-famed organisation was set up in 1947 under the National Security Act. Today it has many different departments. The CIA proper consists of several directorates which are concerned with numerous sweeping intelligence and subversive operations. Working in close contact with the

¹ *Mother Jones*, May 1982.

CIA are other intelligence organisations, such as the National Security Agency (NSA) concerned with electronic intelligence; the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) which conducts intelligence work for the Army, the Air Force and the Navy and is also in charge of intelligence gathering from outer space; the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which keeps close watch on progressive organisations and individuals. The Departments of State and the Treasury also have special intelligence-gathering divisions. Altogether the US intelligence community has more than 20 agencies, the most important of which is the CIA. It coordinates the work of all espionage and subversive organisations and is directly concerned with the prosecution of the psychological war against the socialist countries.

The maintenance of this sinister espionage network which covers not only the United States but also many other countries costs a lot of money. Even according to the understated figures of the American press, the personnel of the US intelligence community totals 150,000, and its annual budget is around \$15 billion. *Newsweek* wrote that the CIA budget had grown over the three years (1980-83) "at a rate of 17 percent annually, faster even than Pentagon spending".¹ The staff of the CIA is also growing rapidly. Under American legislation the CIA carries out global strategic functions linked to subversion in the socialist countries, and particularly in the USSR. The present US Administration has sharply augmented the role of the CIA in the conduct of foreign policy, in the organisation of political, ideological and subversive drives against existing socialism.

William Casey, the CIA's Director, a multimillionaire

¹ *Newsweek*, October 10, 1983, p. 30.

and a close friend of President Reagan, has publicly declared that the intelligence community must play a more active part in the struggle against communist ideology. Both Casey himself and the Senate Intelligence Committee believe that the psychological war against the socialist countries must be intensified not only by the USIA propaganda bodies, but also, even primarily so, by the CIA. This happens to be true. According to available data and reports by progressive journalists in the United States and other countries, the CIA is engaged in the following activities:

- gathering classified political information about the socialist countries which can be used in psychological warfare;

- selecting and training dissident elements in the socialist countries to be used in anti-Soviet operations;

- planning and carrying out subversive psychological operations as it did in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and some other socialist countries;

- utilising various anti-Soviet emigre organisations, public gatherings and individuals in its subversive activities.

The CIA and the USIA operate in close contact, working out psychological operations. The CIA makes use of the USIA's various departments and bodies to cover up its own activities. The intelligence agency cooperates with the USIA in the planning and execution of concrete psychological operations as was the case during the events in Poland. Both agencies supported the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and joined forces against the anti-missile movement in Europe and against the peace initiatives of the socialist countries.

The CIA and the USIA closely cooperate with the intelligence services of other imperialist countries, notably with the BND (West German intelligence service),

with the Mossad (Israeli intelligence service), with the Pentagon's special services, and act in step with the right-wing terrorist organisations and the local reactionaries in different parts of the globe. Very often such actions of psychological war are accompanied by terrorist acts against progressives, revolutionary organisations, and democratic movements. Acts of terrorism are often intertwined with acts of psychological warfare.

On July 4, 1982, *The New York Times Magazine* carried an article by Philip Taubman entitled "The Secret World of a Green Beret". In it the bourgeois journalist tells about Luke Thompson, a master sergeant in the Army Special Forces who was involved in a CIA-sponsored conspiracy against the life of the leaders of the Dominican Republic in 1965. He was also among the commandos who tracked down Ernesto Che Guevara and later went to Vietnam where he engaged in the murder of progressive public leaders who felt sympathetic to Hanoi. Luke Thompson's whole life is a long chain of murders, acts of subversion and violence. "For me killing has become a kind of routine, a job," says Thompson. But the most repulsive thing about this American mercenary is the fact that US propaganda, the US special services and the media refer to all these acts of banditry as "the struggle against Red agents", "assistance to the allies", "forced measures". "Every step we took was controlled by CIA agents. It is they who have transformed me into a killing machine," recalled Thompson.

The rather eloquent admissions of the former mercenary shed more light on the CIA actions which the USIA is trying hard to whitewash. The intelligence services want to destroy "undesirable" persons and organisations, and for this they harbour conspiracies, pull off military coups, while the bodies of psychological

warfare tout these activities as the struggle for freedom and democracy. However, they sometimes go to the other extreme and do all they can to hush up the criminal activities of the special services, to shift the emphasis away from these actions by trumping up sensations such as a "court case", a "political trial", etc. Terrorism, disinformation, subversion, lies and insinuations are the links in the chain that connect the activities of the CIA with those of the USIA.

These two kindred agencies engineer most of the operations of psychological warfare. The USIA finances the publication of books and brochures which serve the interests of the Western propaganda media. For example, the Posev publishing house of the ill-famed Popular Labour Union is fully financed by the CIA and the USIA. David Wise, author of *The American Police State* (Random House, New York, 1976), writes that using the USIA as a cover, the CIA subsidises big book publishing companies known for their anti-Soviet bias. It is the CIA that stands behind the *samizdat* and similar publications.

The CIA and the USIA attach particular significance to psychological warfare against the army personnel in the socialist countries. But the most important role here is played by the subversive Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe. At present it broadcasts more than 1,000 hours a week in 22 languages. Much of the broadcasting time is devoted to those who wear the army uniform of socialist countries. The broadcasters tell about military history, about the correlation of forces in the world and in Europe, about the development of military technology. They also compare service in the armies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. The seemingly neutral programme titles are meant as a cover for arrant anti-Sovietism, unabashed juggling

around with facts, also for downright distortion of reality. The RL/RFE station uses various methods. Sometimes it is "the diaries of a Soviet soldier" (who, as it turns out later, has never been in the Soviet Armed Forces), sometimes it is excerpts from an "unpublished book" by some renegade; it could also be the daily routine of "an ordinary Soviet garrison" (also non-existent). The radio saboteurs in Munich where the RL/RFE station has its quarters, seek to plant a seed of doubt in the minds of Soviet soldiers, to shake their views and political convictions, to give a distorted picture of world events.

The CIA and the USIA particularly value information about organisation and structure of the Soviet Armed Forces, about operations being carried out in the Army and Navy. This information which is obtained from legal sources, from spy satellites and from persons with a low level of vigilance is pooled at special processing centres and from there much of it goes to the USIA bodies for subversive propaganda. For example, NATO's Information Division which conducts anti-Soviet propaganda gets its material from the relevant information bank at the CIA.

All this shows that the capitalist world has a ramified network of psychological warfare. It is expanding, getting more and more sophisticated and now includes both government-run and "public" centres of subversion. The subversive activities carried out by certain quarters in the West against socialism have become part and parcel of the national policy of the NATO states. It is easy to see that such activities can only aggravate the international situation and increase tensions fraught with a nuclear holocaust.

Chapter 7

THE CREATION OF MYTHS AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

In the 1980s, the psychological war against existing socialism has been intensified, which is clearly the result of the policy pursued by the United States and its NATO allies. This new stage in the psychological war was set by President Reagan's address in the British Parliament on June 8, 1982 in which he set forth his Administration's concept of a "crusade against communism" which was to "leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history". This exacerbation of psychological warfare which is attended by another wave of anti-Sovietism in the imperialist countries is linked to the policy of global expansion and dominance pursued by the militarist quarters. The entire mechanism of the imperialist psychological war has been set to work to instil in the masses the idea of a growing "Soviet military danger", of the need for retaliatory measures, for strengthening NATO, and deploying new nuclear missiles in Europe. The resurgence of anti-Sovietism in the early 1980s is notable for its excessive militancy, wide scope, its multiplicity of form, and for its stridency.

Why does the United States need all that? The answer is simple. Firstly, Washington needs an atmosphere of military psychosis in order to put through its militaristic programmes. This calls to mind John Foster Dulles who insisted that in order to make a country shoulder the massive financial burden of the armed forces it was necessary to create an emotional climate close to military hysteria, which is the job for the bodies

of psychological warfare to do. Secondly, the rumble of army drums and NATO propaganda are necessary in order to show that the peaceful initiatives of the USSR, including the historic proposal to renounce first use of nuclear weapons, are the sign of its weakness in the face of military pressure from the United States and NATO. This is why, say these politicians, diplomats and men in military uniform, this course of action is fully justified and must be continued. Therein lies the danger of the strategic concepts of militarism which is out to vindicate the tougher and still more belligerent phase of the psychological war.

The 1970s showed the great positive political, economic and cultural potential of detente. With all its contradictions and the difficulties created by reactionary elements on its path, detente showed that the popular masses need it and regard it as their first priority because it offered practical possibilities for curbing the arms race. It was this Soviet-led "peace offensive" of socialism and its concomitant—detente—that have been warding off the direct threat of another world war, that have brought about agreements on the limitation of strategic armaments. All this, however, has come up against the fierce opposition of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The point is that to all of its defeats in ideological battles, to all the successes of world socialism, and to the growing influence of communist parties in capitalist countries the aggressive quarters of the bourgeoisie respond by feverishly stepping up its military preparations. At the same time they know that they cannot make these preparations without their "ideological vindication". Hence the key thesis of bourgeois propaganda—the so-called Soviet military threat.

WHAT STANDS BEHIND THE MYTH OF THE "SOVIET MILITARY THREAT"

A mere glance at the numerous ideological drives against socialism shows that the idea of "communist aggression" underlies all bourgeois propaganda. Any new measure to step up the arms race is thus justified by the ubiquitous argument of the "Soviet military threat" which, according to Western ideologists, is either "growing" or at least is "there".

In an effort to put their policy on an ideological footing the imperialist instigators of the arms race are indiscriminate in their choice of methods and act in accordance with the canons of militarist logic. When they need new allocations for armaments, say in Congress, they try to scare its members and people at large with stories of "superior Soviet might"; but when they seek to impress the electorate with their concern about defence, they try to assure them of the quite adequate military might of the West. Today the balance between the strategic forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO is interpreted in the capitalist world as a "growing threat to peace". Western leaders, especially those in Washington, refuse to understand one simple truth: the days when they had unilateral military superiority are gone never to return. The fierce attacks that these leaders launch against the balance of strategic forces, against detente are justified by hypocritical contentions about the "Soviet military threat".

For more than sixty years now this myth has been used as a political instrument of the monopoly bourgeoisie, as their old faithful. Why is this myth, the most vicious and false in our century, so viable? What is its social role in the domestic and foreign policies of imperialism?

One of the key tasks of psychological warfare, according to its sponsors and inspirers, is to create an atmosphere of hysteria, military psychosis, fear and uncertainty, which can be achieved through anti-Soviet lies. Although lies of this sort are believed to grow like bad weeds and therefore they need no tending, in actual fact this is not so at all. Perhaps some other lies could sprout on their own, but certainly not the anti-Soviet myth of the "Soviet military threat". This one has been lovingly cultivated by top political leadership in the West and its numerous propaganda departments concerned with psychological warfare. It was those men that Lenin had in mind when he said that those who "are shouting about red militarism" are "political crooks who pretend that they believe this absurdity".¹

The myth of the "Soviet military threat" is rooted in the antagonistic relations between the working people and their exploiters, in the class struggle which clearly shows that social injustice is neither eternal nor inviolable. As soon as the proletariat assumed the theory of scientific socialism, thus creating a scientifically based alternative to the capitalist system, the exploiter classes found themselves in the grip of fear of the "spectre of communism", the fear of social change. Marx and Engels wrote that the secret of the "Red bogey" stems from "the bourgeoisie's dread of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between it and the proletariat ... dread of the inevitable outcome of the modern class struggle".² These fears on the part of the capitalist system came into focus after the Great October Socialist Revolution. To conceal them and to justify any of its

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 66.

² See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 90.

actions against the first socialist state, imperialism mounted an unprecedented global campaign of disinformation in order to frighten the peoples with the "communist threat", the "Red menace", the "hand of Moscow".

The imperialists sought to make the objective contradiction between socialism and capitalism seem some sort of new threat, not to the old social order, but to civilisation, to the whole "free world". As the worldwide positions of socialism gained in strength, the fears on the part of the capitalist class of this principal contradiction of our epoch, which the imperialist quarters have always hoped (and tried!) to resolve in their favour by force of arms, were gradually transformed by the bourgeoisie into a myth whereby it sought to accomplish its global political tasks. As the French historian, Andre Reszler, wrote, myths are not the product of the subconscious mind, but the object of skillful political manipulating.¹ Myths are created by the machine of psychological warfare which also cultivates them in the minds of ordinary people in the West. The "Soviet threat" conjured up by bourgeois propaganda-mongers is an all-purpose argument for all of their anti-Soviet concepts. Lenin wrote that "in order to justify the new armaments, there are the usual efforts to paint a picture of the perils threatening the 'fatherland'."² These words of Lenin's hold true to this day.

Born in the middle of the last century, the myth of the "communist peril" has in our century gradually evolved into the "Soviet military threat". This transformation of a social myth into a military-political myth

¹ See A. Reszler, *Mythes politiques modernes*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1981.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, 1971, p. 242.

reflects primarily the shift of emphasis in the class struggle of imperialism with real socialism towards "power politics". Thus fear and class hatred on the part of the exploiters for the new social system have brought forth the biggest lie that has ever existed in our epoch—the lie about the "Soviet military threat". Its creators shut their eye to the strategic course for peace that is being followed by the first socialist state. Back in November 1919, Lenin wrote in a letter to American workers that the working people would need peace "during the period of the coexistence side by side of socialist and capitalist states".¹ In all of its policy statements, and especially those made at the recent congresses, the CPSU emphasised its devotion to peace and followed it up with practical action.

However, the brain trusters in capitalist governments insist that the "free world" is at risk because in the setting of peaceful coexistence socialism steps up the rate of its development, gathers speed in its onward movement and carries out its plans and programmes at an increasingly faster rate. Many bourgeois theorists and policy-makers regard peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two social systems as dangerous to capitalism and as a phase of confrontation between the two systems which offers no advantages and no future to the exploiter system. This is why the enemies of peace are insisting that peaceful coexistence is a one-way street and is therefore a mere "tactical ruse of the communists". Statements made by Reagan, Weinberger, Shultz and other hawks of capitalist America are based on this bourgeois ideological concept.

The unpopular domestic and foreign policy of the imperialists, which goes against the interests of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 39.

popular masses, serves only their selfish interests. This policy is dripping with the venom of anti-communism and treats peaceful coexistence as a class peace between the exploiter and the exploited, on the one hand, and as recognition by the socialist countries of the "right" of the United States and NATO to superiority and dominance in world affairs, on the other. This is precisely what all the ideological actions of imperialism have been directed to over the past several years.

There is nothing accidental about the fact that today the reactionary quarters are doing their utmost to bury detente for good and return the world to the dark days of the Cold War. These circles are inventing all kinds of pretexts, such as the events in Afghanistan, Poland, Nicaragua and Lebanon, in order to exacerbate the international situation, to aggravate tensions in relations between countries, to heighten the risk of nuclear war. The aggressive forces of the West who would want to obtain concessions from the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to the detriment of their security and sovereignty in exchange for detente, have mounted a sweeping political campaign to discredit existing socialism. The very idea of peaceful coexistence and its practical realisation have thus come under the fire of fierce ideological battles.

Peace and its social consequences frighten the big bourgeoisie. The West German philosopher William Schlamm writes with remarkable candour that the conflict between communism and the West is monstrous and sinister in that communism flourishes in the setting of peace.¹ The imperialists understand that a hot war might put an end to the capitalist system, but they can-

¹ See William Schlamm, *Die Grenzen des Wunders*, Zurich, 1959, S. 185.

not accept the concept of a stable and secure peace. Actually, the imperialists find *brinkmanship* the most suitable model of international relations. To justify this historical risk they need ideological and political arguments they could fall back on. And this is where the anti-Soviet myth, the big lie, comes in handy.

However, all references to "military danger" from the Soviet Union have no base, given a thought to the actual state of affairs. World socialism has reached a higher level of power than ever before and has undercut much of imperialism's former influence. Instead of expansion (which the Soviet Union's opponents are accusing it of), the USSR has channeled all its influence into a "peace offensive". This fundamental principle of Soviet policy not only sums up the peaceful character of socialism, its optimism and confidence that it will achieve its social goals in the economic competition with capitalism, but indeed exposes as utterly untenable the old anti-communist stereotype of the "Soviet military threat".

But even then the bourgeoisie sticks to this myth for dear life, because without this myth it cannot explain—even if the US President or the USIA Director undertakes to do it—why the Pentagon is stepping up the arms race, why Washington has incited Israel's aggression against Lebanon, why the Americans are expanding their network of military bases throughout the world, why they are meddling in the internal affairs of Poland and Afghanistan, and why they have inundated Western Europe with nuclear weapons. To camouflage its crusade against peace, against detente, the United States is stepping up its propaganda in support of its militarist policy. To achieve this goal it distorts the true facts about the present-day military and political situation in the world.

All this shows that the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is a political weapon and an instrument of ideological manipulation of the masses by the bourgeoisie. The Soviet bogey is kept alive in the minds of people in the capitalist countries as the *key argument that runs through all bourgeois propaganda*.

To make this myth more viable and more credible, its authors enlist the services of state and public leaders, and bourgeois philosophers. The US philosopher James Robertson writes that internal political life in the United States has long rested on a myth which has been assiduously cultivated and inculcated in people's minds by every president, by the entire ruling elite of that country. According to this myth, America is a nation which holds an exceptional place in human civilisation and this, in turn, entitles it to expansion, to an exclusive role as the first nation in the world, as its leader.¹ To this we would like to add that the "roles and rights" Robertson is talking about have all been thought up by those who run the lives of ordinary Americans.

Bourgeois theoreticians insist that Nietzsche had long since proved that man, and especially the mob, needs myths and illusions. This is why, according to them, it is so necessary to satisfy this intellectual need. The thing is to know which of these myths and illusions can be used to achieve the goals of the nation. The most important of all, they say, are the myths about the "American dream", "American exclusiveness", "equal opportunities" and the "threat from outside". These philosophical revelations are echoed by another US professor, Lewis Feuer, who sought to prove that any

¹ See James Oliver Robertson, *American Myth, American Reality*, Hill & Wang, New York, 1980, p. 74.

society, including "free society", is maintained by a system of myths. By its very nature American society begets myths of "renewal", "prosperity", "messianism" and "supermania". Foreign policy, on the other hand, requires a stable stereotype of a "communist enemy" encroaching on the material, moral and cultural values of America. The "threat from outside" myth must look frightening, writes this philosopher. The mind goes into depression, then knuckles under. The skillful manipulation of the frightening myth helps control information by concealing the facts that might undermine the official policy of the government or by overemphasising some loaded information.

In actual fact, such philosophical explanations of the need for a bourgeois political mythology are a rehash of the old ideas of Vilfredo Pareto who at the turn of the century contended that illusions, myths and utopias, with their mind-boggling effect, are something that society cannot do without. However, Pareto interpreted the viability of myth creation by the limited possibilities of human consciousness. The present-day bourgeois interpreters are concerned not so much with the gnoseological aspect of political myths as their purely pragmatic meaning as an instrument for manipulating the consciousness of the masses.

Myth thus appears as an *ideological instrument of imperialist policy*, especially the myth of the "Soviet military threat". The great need for this myth, which has absorbed the essence of the big lie of the bourgeoisie, is not only understood but is openly admitted by high-ranking personalities of the capitalist world. Some of them believe that without the myth of the "Soviet threat" which serves as the nucleus of its foreign policy doctrine, the United States would not be able to "play its role" in the world. Analysts of American militarism

seem to think that the "communist aggressors" are the most abiding and undefinable, and therefore the most convenient enemy. Had there been no myth of a "Soviet threat", the Pentagon officials would have had to invent one.

As we see, the eternal conflict between the exploiters and the exploited, the bourgeoisie and the working people, capitalism and socialism, which sums up the main contradiction of our epoch, has been given out by imperialist policy-makers and propaganda-mongers as some sort of demoniac, irrational threat in a communist garb. Hatred of existing socialism, fear of imminent social changes, lack of confidence in the outcome of peaceful competition between the two systems fuel anti-communism which has brought forth the notorious myth and garbled reality out of existence. As anti-communism evolved from anti-Marxism (before the Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917) through anti-Bolshevism (after the Socialist Revolution) to anti-Sovietism (after the Second World War), the threat to the capitalist system which has no future was painted by the bourgeoisie in increasingly dramatic colours.

Today this threat is presented as some sort of universal danger, as a menace to civilisation, to the future of society. The very fact that this monstrous lie has become the guideline of the domestic and foreign policy of imperialism points to the erosion of the ideological and philosophical foundations of the political doctrines of imperialism. When an obvious lie is used to justify the policy and strategic concepts of NATO, it not only shows up the socio-political system of capitalism as flawed, but also brings into focus the actual military danger that it poses to the world. This becomes particularly clear if you look into the social aspect of the anti-Soviet myth.

WHO NEEDS THE ANTI-SOVIET MYTH

As a tool of political, ideological and psychological manipulation of social consciousness the anti-Soviet myth performs a clearly specified function in society. By discharging this function the anti-Soviet myth fulfills its social role which is the *strategic lever of monopoly influence* on the internal and external policies of the imperialist states. At the winter session of the NATO Council (1983) its participants discussed how best to alert the Western community and the rest of the "free world" to the growing Soviet danger. They pointed out that efforts in this direction were of tremendous significance for the implementation of the domestic and external programmes of the NATO member countries. In actual fact, playing around with the "Soviet threat", as could be judged from the final documents of the winter session, was to achieve NATO's long-term strategic goals in the political, military, economic and cultural fields.

The speeches President Reagan made in Paris, Bonn, West Berlin and especially in London in the summer of 1982 clearly showed that the US Administration was set on reviving in the capitalist world the old vain hopes for getting the best of socialism. In actual fact these speeches amounted to a programme for an offensive upon socialism, and especially upon the country where it was born. Such speeches, just like the practical political actions being taken by the ruling quarters in the United States and its allies show the different directions in which the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is being projected.

First. The imperialist elite and big business need the anti-Soviet myth for maintaining and boosting their super-profits. Herein lies its socio-economic essence.

The arms race is the gold mine of the military-industrial complex whose activities are tantamount to the outright robbery of its own and other countries. At present the United States is busy putting through the most costly military programme in its history. Over the period between 1984 and 1988 its military expenditures are expected to come up to two trillion dollars. Every time a new president takes office he continues to play monopoly according to the old rules. Rule one: to "discover" Soviet military superiority and sound the alarm. Rule two: to transform the "Red scare" into costly armaments programmes. Rule three: to brand the critics of the arms race as "pacifists", "neutralists" and "Moscow agents" if Soviet superiority proves to be non-existent. Then everything should be started all over again. But even bourgeois publications take a dim view of the reports in the Western press on Soviet military spending, although such comment is rare. For example, *US News & World Report* wrote in early 1984 that "earlier estimates of Russian defense outlays were inflated".¹

And this is exactly what the NATO circles are doing, using the anti-Soviet myth as a political, ideological and psychological lever in seeking their class interests. Suffice it to say that in 1985 the US Administration intended to increase its military expenditure to \$314 billion. This staggering sum means not only that the financial pie of the imperialist state is being feverishly divided up by the Pentagon's brokers such as Lockheed, United Technologies, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, General Dynamics, Martin-Marietta, and others, but that the material basis for war is growing at a rate unmatched in history. Today's US military budget looks like a high peak rising over the flat plain of expendi-

¹ *US News & World Report*, February 13, 1984, p. 26.

tures on social programmes. And this means that the companies working for war are getting fabulously rich. According to one of the US Senate commissions, 164 firms filling orders for the Pentagon have a rate of profit ranging from 50 to 200 percent on their investment; three companies have a margin of profit of over 500 percent and one company more than 2,000 percent. The longer people believe this lie about the "Soviet military threat", the bigger the profits of those who use the myth for their enrichment.

Second. Speculation on the myth of the "Soviet military threat" enables the reactionary quarters to carry on their offensive against the rights of the working people, to curb bourgeois-democratic freedoms, to step up anti-communist propaganda and psychological war. Thus the myth is also used for exerting social and ideological pressure on the working masses.

If we glance back over our century, we shall see that fascist states, totalitarian regimes and aggressive pacts emerged, as a rule, to the ideological accompaniment of the "Red" or "communist" danger. By publishing new "facts" about the "growing" military potential of the Soviet Union, the bourgeois propaganda machine disorients the man in the street, instils in him irrational fear of a mythical threat. Here are a few examples. Televiewers in the United States were shown a provocative anti-Soviet film about a first nuclear strike delivered, as you might guess, by the "treacherous Soviets to the accompaniment of disarmament talks". There is massive intimidation of the American people by the American mass media and films. These include paltry books like *Soviet Military Power* prefaced by the US Secretary of Defense, and USIA releases about Soviet propaganda which pile one lie on top of another.

Even in the United States sober-minded Americans

no longer take a serious view of such literary creations which are meant to militarise the thinking of millions of people. In an article published in *The Baltimore Sun* in January 1982 former American Ambassador to the USSR George Kennan wrote that such publications showed up their authors completely taken up with the idea of nuclear war, which in itself is a sign of moral pathology. Nuclear war is not only talked about in the media and movie houses but also in fiction and even in scientific research. But in most cases all these media do not even attempt to condemn nuclear war (much less its instigators!), but instead are trying to frighten ordinary Americans with the threat that is attached to anything Soviet, socialist or communist. This massive pressure on social consciousness leaves them under the impression that nuclear war can and should be allowed to happen.

Such tricks are not merely anti-Soviet propaganda; they try to show that war is inevitable and that its threat comes only from the Soviet Union. This is a carefully planned strategy of playing on the feelings of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, and just the man in the street who, because of their narrow-mindedness, class character and lack of information, do not always understand the need for *equal security* of states with opposite socio-political systems. Herein lies one of the social sources of prejudice. The different forms of social consciousness are manipulated in line with the so-called theory of mass behaviour, according to which the mere mention of a certain myth sets off a stream of political stereotypes and cliches. In this case the stereotypes and notions called forth by anti-Soviet propaganda are fairly widespread and persistent among the population of capitalist countries. And, as is known, it is easier to manipulate disinformed people not only in the

ideological but also in the social sphere.

Third. The anti-Soviet myth is also used as an important tool in the foreign policy of the imperialist states. For example, the United States has, with the help of the myth, kept many capitalist countries in military and political alliances. In the case of NATO, the United States has for more than thirty-five years forced its allies to support various anti-Soviet and anti-socialist actions, as it did in connection with the events in Poland. And although the NATO alliance shows more and more signs of disunity, anti-Sovietism remains about the main political principle that is still holding the capitalist countries together. The ruling elite of the United States also needs this myth in order to convince its partners in the aggressive bloc that Moscow wants to drive a wedge between them and split NATO, that the anti-war actions sweeping across Europe are organised and financed by Moscow. NATO leaders are trying to discredit the activists of the anti-missile movement and see "communist intrigues" in every well-organised civil rights action.

The anti-Soviet myth plays an important role in shaping the policies of capitalist states towards the developing countries. Very often the degree of anti-Sovietism in these countries serves as the main criterion for giving them aid. The bourgeois states, particularly the United States, have entered into military pacts with many developing countries, which entitles them to interfere in the domestic affairs of these countries ostensibly because of the menace from outside, i.e., the same old "Soviet military threat". And although the NATO states have sustained many setbacks over the past several decades, they have not yet renounced the use of the anti-Soviet myth as a tool of political pressure on the developing countries.

It goes without saying that the anti-Soviet myth features prominently in the policy of capitalist countries towards existing socialism. Their foreign policy directives are based on the deliberate distortion of the truth about the correlation of the forces of the two systems and on the overstatement of the military possibilities of the socialist community. Proceeding from the non-existent correlation of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the Atlantic quarters have geared their foreign policy to the fierce struggle with socialism, to their desire to achieve unilateral military superiority. It was declared at the 26th CPSU Congress in reply to the inventions of the anti-Soviet myth builders: "We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us."

Recognition of the existing parity of strength, of the strategic balance between the two systems is the only way to consolidate the foundations of peaceful coexistence and back it up with subsequent actions to curb the arms race and speed up disarmament. Regrettably, the West is not yet ready for such moves. In March 1982, Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield submitted a draft resolution of the two Houses calling upon the USA and the USSR to first freeze and then reduce their nuclear armaments. The draft was upheld by a group of Senators and Congressmen who took a realistic view of the dismal prospects of the arms race. They pointed out, and with good reason, that in a situation where there was now rough parity between the USA and the USSR in strategic nuclear weapons, they had a "historic opportunity" to stop the madness of the arms race. The draft went on to say that if that opportunity was lost it might never come again and we would slide

further down to war which would be the last on our planet.

The militarist forces which call the shots in Washington today have been rallied to discredit and eventually kill the idea of mutually freezing and reducing nuclear armaments. The idea which has repeatedly been put forward by the Soviet Union and which is close to the heart and mind of every honest man is viewed by the Pentagon as an act of preventing the United States from playing its crucial role in the world. The methods used to substantiate the need for this role are very simple. Every time a new military budget is submitted for debate, stories about the alleged menace posed by the "growing Soviet military power" come thick and fast, and not without the desired effect, because they enable bourgeois politicians to step up the arms drive still further. Here are a few facts.

In the mid-1950s, the American press raised a ballyhoo about "the United States' bomber lag". Soon after the Pentagon formally announced that the number of Soviet bombers had been overstated several times over. This admission, naturally, had no effect on the US military budget. In the early 1960s, another propaganda campaign was mounted, this time about the Soviet Union's "substantial superiority in missiles". The hysterical appeals, anti-Soviet statements and the myth about the "Soviet military threat" finally achieved the desired effect: the US military budget shot up dramatically. That, again, was followed by clarifications and explanations that the Soviet Union's missile power had been grossly overrated. But the job was done and soon the corporations were dividing up the whopping financial cake. We can see a similar picture today: by intimidating the Western countries with "the strategic superiority of the USSR", bourgeois militarist propagan-

da and the advocates of psychological war are not only trying to push the arms drive to a new high but are also creating a climate conducive to military adventures the most dangerous of which is the decision of the US Administration to start building a space defence system, production of neutron bombs, cruise missiles and new types of toxic weapons, the strategic MX missiles, etc.

The toughening of anti-Soviet rhetoric in NATO's capitals reflects the growing confrontation between the two social systems, especially in the military field. To justify this aggressive course the NATO propaganda services have developed "new" arguments meant to prove that the "Soviet military threat" is actually growing.

One of the most commonly used pseudo-arguments holds that only a radical change in the correlation of strategic forces in NATO's favour can "compel" the USSR to be more amenable and allow supervision and control over Soviet armaments according to American prescriptions. The American political scientist James Fallows writes that the United States is trying to convince itself, its allies and indeed everybody that only military superiority over the Soviet Union can compel it to scrap its aggressive plans against the "free world".¹ To vindicate this idea theoretically, many different strategic models and scenarios have been created of "a possible evolution of the confrontation" between the two systems. The views of the US Administration to this effect are well known and are summed up in the concept: "the stronger NATO is the more docile the Warsaw Treaty bloc." Washington is giving to understand that the Soviet Union should not hope that it will ever

¹ See James Fallows, *National Defense*, Random House, New York, 1981.

be allowed to maintain armaments of a strength equal to that of the United States. According to the logic of the White House, only this course of events can preserve peace.

Political cynicism rooted in the social myth of American exclusiveness works particularly well with people whose level of social consciousness does not rise above their daily routine. The idea is drummed into their heads that peaceful coexistence is possible only if the West proves to be stronger than its bitterest of opponents. Manipulation with the myth of the "Soviet threat" is accompanied in each particular case by the reminder that the only way to survive and preserve freedom is by building up America's military might. This is what Weinberger adjures his countrymen to do in the face of the "impending danger". "What is this danger?" you may ask. Certainly not what Wilson, Churchill, Truman, Adenauer and now Reagan say it is and at what they direct the class hatred of the outgoing world.

Under the pressure of facts some high-ranking officials in the West have been compelled to admit it. On reading a CIA report on Moscow's superiority Senator William Proxmire qualified it as nonsensical. In a critical reference to Washington's militaristic programmes he said that "as long as we continue to test, build and deploy new nuclear weapons, we continue to develop new ways for nuclear holocaust to begin".¹ In an interview to *Newsweek*, the former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany said: "I do not fear the West to be militarily inferior to the Soviets. I don't see any reason for nourishing any inferiority complexes

¹ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 129, No. 137, October 19, 1983, p. 14088.

in that field."¹ Such statements are hushed up, ignored or dismissed as "unimportant", because they do not fit in with the present concept of psychological warfare.

The ravaging of the truth begets malicious lies. The authors of the propaganda concept of the Soviet military threat surely know about a chapter in the Soviet Constitution which says that the foreign policy of the USSR is "aimed at preventing wars of aggression, achieving universal and complete disarmament". Under the Soviet Constitution war propaganda is banned. The USSR follows up its peaceful policies with practical actions. In the 1970s and 1980s alone, the USSR submitted at the United Nations and other international bodies many concrete, constructive proposals aimed at accomplishing the key task of our time: to contain and then stop the arms drive. For a long time now the USSR has not been increasing its defence expenditures, reaffirming its devotion to peace in practical terms.

ADVOCACY OF POLICY FOR WORLD DOMINANCE

American military expansion in the world is the response of the imperialists to detente, to the growing influence of socialism in world affairs. As was pointed out at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "A war danger does exist for the United States, as it does for all the other countries of the world. But the source of the danger is not the Soviet Union, nor any mythical Soviet superiority, but is the arms race and the tension that still prevails in the world." Over its entire history the Soviet Union has not waged a single aggressive war, while the United States, over the two hundred years of

¹ *Newsweek*, June 28, 1982, p. 29.

its existence, has waged about 200 such wars. This irrefutable fact reaffirms the truth discovered by Marxism-Leninism that the source of wars, their very origins are inherent in the exploiter socio-economic system itself based on private ownership of the means of production and on the exploitation of working people. One can hardly expect to hear such revelations from those who have inspired and are waging the psychological war.

The actual mechanism that directly actuates wars is militarism which, in Lenin's words, is the "vital expression" of capitalism.¹ Militarism is not merely a trend of militarisation of the state; it subordinates—albeit in covert form, dressed in bourgeois-democratic garbs—the entire economic, political and cultural life of the country to the needs of the war machine, the main instrument of imperialist policy. Modern militarism fuels the flames of anti-Sovietism and of the provocative rhetoric over the "Red" threat, using many different forms and methods. For example, back in the middle of the 1970s, a Committee on the Present Danger was set up in the United States. Incidentally, one of its most active members was Ronald Reagan who undertook to expose Soviet expansionism. All the members of the committee who formed a very influential militarist lobby in Congress take one interview after another from state, public and military leaders who are known for their hostile sentiments for detente and who keep inventing arguments in an effort to prove that the Soviet threat is real, not mythical. This propaganda campaign was long ago joined by NATO's former Secretary General Joseph Luns, the former US Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, some American

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 192.

Senators, and many others. The imposing titles, high ranks and important jobs they hold enable these people to create a false impression of competence and false stereotypes in social consciousness. It is the dominant influence of the militarist quarters in the political life of the United States that stands the credit for reviving the old concept of "world leadership".

This concept takes its beginnings in the notorious Truman Doctrine which proclaimed in 1947 that no other country is as strong as the United States, which entitled it to exercise its dominance over the whole world. However, in the 1960s and 1970s this hegemonistic creed had to be shelved. The growing influence of socialism shifted the balance of world forces so much that the "world leader" concept had lost all touch with reality. However, in the early 1980s the hegemonistic tendencies in capitalist America again came to life. Speaking at a convention of the American Legion known for its blatant jingoism, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger laid it on the line when he said that the United States must be strong so as to be able to claim undisputed leadership in the world. Such statements by US high-ranking officials sum up the *strategic credo* of the American militarists: to weaken socialism, gain unilateral military superiority and then move in as the rulers of the world. The propaganda camouflage aimed at calming public opinion in the United States and in the other NATO countries does not go beyond the formula: peace could be ensured by preparing for war. What it actually amounts to is brinkmanship with a marked bias towards a nuclear conflict. In an article published in *The New York Times* on May 30, 1982, Richard Halloran, quoting Weinberger's directive, says that the United States considers nuclear war possible and winnable even if it lasts for a long time.

The repeated Soviet proposals to assume commitments on mutual renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons and many other similar constructive proposals came up against a flat rejection on the part of the United States and the other NATO countries. This position shows that the ruling elite of the United States does not regard peace and life as the highest human value. It looks as if the White House were occupied by the associates of ultra-reactionary Senator Barry Goldwater who summed up his misanthropic sentiments by saying that he and his supporters would rather dispatch the whole world rather than allow it to live under communism.

This craving for world dominance has caused the Pentagon to somewhat modify its doctrines. Only five years ago the American strategists thought it necessary to fight "one war and a half" (one big war, say, in Europe, and one local war in Asia, Africa, etc.) When Reagan took office as President he loudly proclaimed that the United States would be ready to fight "two wars and a half". The US Defense Secretary said at the time that the United States would have to be ready to fight two big wars, say, in Europe and the Persian Gulf, and one small war, say, in El Salvador. However, the evolution of the Pentagon's strategic thinking did not stop at that point. Today Weinberger says that the United States should be prepared to wage a protracted war using any means of destruction on a global scale in order to assure its role in the world. Paul Nitze, one of the leaders of the American Committee on the Present Danger, pointed out that the United States could assure its security only by dominating the whole world.¹

¹ See P. Nitze, "Strategy in the Decade of the 1980s", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 1, Fall 1980.

Those who shape the policies of the United States and NATO are looking far beyond global war strategy and are toying with the idea of waging a limited nuclear war and with the possibility of winning in an all-out nuclear war.

Only those who are blind with hatred for socialism can think in terms of nuclear war. The Pentagon cannot but know that even some of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons would be enough to destroy civilisation. Stockpiling of such weapons beyond a certain limit loses its military significance simply because life on earth can be destroyed only once, and not twice or thrice. Those who think in old terms do not realise that to hope for victory in nuclear war is sheer madness. Only those bent on suicide could start a nuclear war in the hope of winning it. If a total nuclear war does occur, it will destroy not only the present but also the future of mankind. There is still another aspect to this terrible, but possible alternative. If we assume that our rational civilisation is the only one existing in the universe (and nobody has yet proved to the contrary), then it becomes clear that imperialism, as a socio-political system, is having a cut at something immeasurably more important than the mythical "Soviet threat".

To introduce this and other plain truths in the consciousness of as many people as possible, truths that concern the most burning issue of mankind, that of preservation of peace, is an extremely important task for all progressive forces. We must not forget that, although the imperialists have no hopes of winning in a nuclear war, they can unleash it. And this they must never be allowed to do, just as the warriors of psychological warfare must not be allowed to deceive millions of people about the causes and consequences of a hypothetical war.

What concretely is the danger to international peace and security posed by the forces which again claim the role of world leader and are inclined to solve global problems by means of "power politics"?

First. This is the strategy aimed at achieving the military superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union in and beyond the sphere of military doctrines and concepts. The thing is that the United States is busy carrying out massive military programmes, building up military muscles, which leads to further intertwining of the interests of the military-industrial complex, military establishments and the state machine. The military-industrial complex determines not only the content and direction in the development of the capitalist state, but also exercises control over US internal and external policies. This policy pursued by the United States and NATO has caused military expenditures in the world to double over the past three years.

This fact was announced in a report of the Disarmament Committee presented at the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. In actual fact, it is the United States that leads the world in the arms race, is responsible for the fact that the nations are wasting staggering sums of money on weaponry, sums that would be quite sufficient to solve many global problems. But has the United States achieved military superiority by sharply increasing its military expenditures? Has the security of our planet increased by putting every man, woman and child on eight tons of TNT? The situation looks truly paradoxical: the military possibilities of imperialism are growing while its ability to achieve political goals by military force is not increasing at all. In actual fact, the threshold of security is getting lower, and Washington, with its adventurist policy, may easily be tempted to cross this threshold.

What all this might lead to needs no comment. The growing military threat exacerbates the problem of war and peace, the problem of preservation of human civilisation from a nuclear holocaust.

Second. The policy aimed at gaining unilateral military advantages which the NATO circles would like to gain not only upsets the strategic balance of power of the two opposing forces, but also creates tensions in international relations, waters down the importance of earlier agreements, weakens economic, cultural and other links between the two systems and creates a situation in which the militarist quarters find it easier to carry out their adventuristic plans. The old stereotypes about the "communist threat", about the "hand of Moscow" and the "trap of detente" evoke in the minds of ill-informed people associations about the threat of an imminent holocaust. Those who perform this psychological "massage" do that deliberately. For example, the French General Guy Mery, in a newspaper article entitled "The Defence of France and the Defence of Europe", hewed close to the old line of his NATO colleagues, saying that the ultimate goal of the "Soviet bloc" was to establish "Soviet communism in the whole world". But, he continued, this bloc would start out with the conquest of the whole of Europe.¹ Using such ploys, the sponsors of the propaganda crusade are trying to take the edge off the anti-war movement, intimidate the man in the street, and make their allies more docile. Actually, the tense situation tends to transform the military threat into an open confrontation with its extremely dangerous consequences.

Third. The war plans transferred from the sphere of consciousness into the sphere of preparation and

¹ See *Defense national*, 39e annee, janvier 1983, p. 8.

utilisation of the armed forces proper heighten the risk of war. The strategic offensive forces of the United States can in just one missile strike (aircraft mission) launch more than 12,000 nuclear warheads ranging from 50 kilotons to 5 megatons each. (Together with the nuclear forces of Britain and France this would make the total nuclear capability even more formidable). And after all that the Pentagon calls this force insufficient to ensure the survival of the United States! It looks as if the Pentagon would consider sufficient only a nuclear capability which would be twice or even three times as great as that of the USSR, which the Pentagon has borne out in practice by building up its military power.

The United States has lately markedly increased the scale of its blatantly provocative military exercises. Especially dangerous are the exercises of strategic offensive forces which include intercontinental ballistic missiles, strategic airforce and nuclear missile submarines. Such exercises as Global Shield-84 ranged across the United States, Canada, the whole of Western Europe, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, Australia, and the Oceania. In the course of such exercises all the elements of the strategic triad are alerted, with a large number of aircraft aloft and missiles readied for launching at real military targets. What is it if not a rehearsal of a global nuclear war? By acting in this way the American warlords are inexorably pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear conflict.

As we see, the actual military threat stems from a country, and from a military imperialist alliance which use the myth of the "Soviet military threat" as a cover-up for their own expansionist plans. It is the United States and its allies, and not the Soviet Union, that are prodding mankind towards that critical threshold be-

tween life and death. The facts of history (which are impossible to refute) show that it is the United States, and not the Soviet Union, that has over the entire post-war period been trying to gain unilateral superiority in military, scientific and technical fields. It should be recalled in this connection that the United States was the first to test the atomic weapon in 1945, and the Soviet Union did that in 1949. The United States carried out its experiment with a thermonuclear device in 1952, and the Soviet Union did that the following year. The Americans built an atomic submarine with ballistic missiles in the mid-1960s while the Soviet Union built its own nuclear submarine four years later. Beginning in the late 1960s, the United States has been stuffing its intercontinental ballistic missiles with MIRV-ed warheads, while the USSR was compelled to deploy such weapons only five years later. It is the United States that has started mass production of neutron weapons, tailoring the Shuttle space system to suit military purposes, and mass-producing cruise missiles of different types.¹ All these things the centres of psychological warfare prefer to be silent about.

Guided by the highest interests of the people and the state, the Soviet government is taking measures to be equal to the challenge from the imperialist West. However, with all that the Soviet Armed Forces, which look from TV screens in the West as some sort of military monstres, perform a defensive function only. Herein lies the dialectics of the new role played by the army. Over the entire history of antagonistic societies the army has been the principal instrument of war, while under socialism it has grown into an instrument of peace.

Our country has on many occasions called upon the

¹ See *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Op. cit.

United States and other NATO countries not to miss the historical opportunity to curb the arms drive which will in future be even more difficult to stop. Conferences, negotiations, and agreements are not only thousands, and millions of times cheaper than the arms drive, but are in fact much more promising from the point of view of mutually acceptable accords. It stands to reason that such accords cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of hostility and hatred. The sponsors of the "new" nuclear strategy of the Pentagon are badly mistaken thinking that this strategy means the difference between victory and defeat. Actually the difference is between coexistence and destruction. Coexistence means peace and war means destruction.

This means that the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is at the bottom of the entire bourgeois anti-socialist propaganda and psychological warfare, especially at the time of its escalation. This myth is used to vindicate the arms drive, the creation of military systems in space, the manufacture of hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals, the preparations for meteorological warfare, militarisation of the world ocean and the build-up of neutron weapon stockpiles. Everything that plays into the hands of the United States and NATO is being exonerated and justified. Therein lies the pragmatic core of the entire concept of psychological warfare, a concept built on lies and on outright disinformation.

Hence the anti-Soviet myths are a weapon in the psychological war which the imperialists have unleashed against socialism. It is on the crest of the dirtiest myth of the twentieth century that the ruling quarters of the United States and NATO are trying to justify their most ambitious aspiration to world dominance. On the one hand, the myth of the "Soviet military threat"

serves as a of kind lightning rod to divert the dissatisfaction and social discontent of millions of ordinary people with their economic plight in the setting of growing unemployment, inflation and other social ills of bourgeois society. Washington regards militarist psychosis as the safety valve which can weaken the effects of the crisis of bourgeois society.

On the other hand, myth-building is a clever stratagem in the sense that it justifies the aggressive policies of the United States and NATO and at the same time presents socialism as a villain threatening not only the West, but the whole world with death and destruction. The exponents of psychological war are making capital on this myth and trying to convince the public that detente is a dud and that the Cold War is a much better and "more natural" model of international relations. Millions of people, however, understand that the Cold War may eventually grow into a "hot" war.

"LIMITED WAR" AND WESTERN EUROPE

In the Pentagon's view based on the doctrine of direct confrontation, war between the USA and the USSR, between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation can take different forms: a conventional war (without the use of nuclear weapons), a conventional war that will grow into a nuclear war, an all-out nuclear war, and the so-called "limited" nuclear war. According to the Pentagon's planners, the last type of war would suit the United States best of all. No wonder that different models and scenarios of such a conflict have many times been acted out at military exercises and mock operations in the bunkers of NATO's strategists. What is the concept of a "limited" nuclear war as advanced by US policy-makers and military leaders? After

all, this concept seems to be uppermost in the plans of Western strategists.

At present the USSR and NATO have about 1,000 nuclear missile carriers. In this respect the two sides have a rough parity in medium-range missiles. However, if we particularise the existing correlation in terms of the number of nuclear warheads on these missiles, then NATO would have almost a 50 percent superiority over the USSR. The NATO missile carriers include 119 British missiles and bombers and 144 similar units in France. These so-called "independent" national forces are being perfected all the time. Britain has adopted a modernised version of the Polaris missiles with six warheads each for use by submarines. In the near future Britain is also planning to install on its submarines the Trident-2 missiles with 14 warheads each with an even longer effective range than the Polaris missiles. Work is underway in France to replace the monobloc warheads on missiles with clusters of seven nuclear warheads. At the same time France is building two more atomic missile carrying submarines in addition to the five it has in active service. Thus the forces that NATO is trying to build up far beyond the limits of the present parity amount to a formidable arsenal of weapons. This does not deter the French magazine *Defense nationale* to contend that France has a mere 132 nuclear warheads in contrast with the 10,000 Soviet nuclear warheads which can allegedly come down upon her at any time.¹ By arbitrarily overstating the Soviet military capability the magazine excluded the American and British nuclear weapons and at the same time reduced France's own forces. This "arithmetic" is typical of NATO's "book-keepers".

¹ See *Defense nationale*, novembre 1983, p. 12.

Most of the medium-range missiles are of American origin. These weapons are being modernised as the forward-based American system in Europe and constitute at present almost 7,000 nuclear warheads. Recently a considerable number of these warheads have been replaced by their modernised versions. The Pentagon is reportedly planning to bring and deploy in Western Europe the neutron weapon, that barbarous tool of atomic genocide. This in spite of the promises it has given to the contrary in order to calm world public opinion. West Germany, allowing for its small territory, has more nuclear armaments than any other country. It also has tremendous stores of toxic chemicals from the United States which, in addition, is deploying what journalists call "killer missiles" of medium range whose launching leaves practically no time for advance notification.

NATO's vast quantities of nuclear weaponry in Europe are obviously spearheaded against the Soviet Union. This, however, does not seem to satisfy the Pentagon. Acting in line with its military doctrines aimed at upsetting the established balance of medium-range weapons, the Americans are going ahead with the deployment of about 60 Pershing-2 missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles. After all these missiles have been deployed, NATO will have a 1:1.5 superiority in missile carriers and 1:2 superiority in warheads, which is exactly what the United States and its allies want.

The problem is not only that of the number of nuclear weapons. It must be borne in mind that all the medium-range missiles trained on the Soviet Union are *strategic* in their function, for all of them are *first-strike* weapons and therefore pose a tremendous threat to the socialist countries. In Washington these weapons are called "disarming" or "disabling" weapons de-

signed to destroy vital centres and communications in the Soviet Union. The idea of using these missiles stems from the fact their flight time to targets in the USSR is some 6-8 minutes. The Pentagon believes that in the event of a nuclear conflict of the type it is planning to precipitate, the Soviet Union would be compelled to commit a considerable proportion of its nuclear arsenal against NATO's nuclear weapons in Europe and this, in turn, would considerably reduce the number of missile carriers that the Soviet Union could launch against the United States. This means, in the Pentagon's view, that a future nuclear war would very likely be fought in the USSR and Western Europe, whereas the United States will avoid massive retaliatory strikes. This is the cynical substance of the concept of a "limited" nuclear war, whose aim is to spare the USA any retaliatory strikes. This is the ulterior motive behind the deployment of the American "Euromissiles" which the Western media are at pains to vindicate.

These plans of the Pentagon warlords largely reflect the desire of the American military to make Western Europe the scene of a nuclear conflict. Weinberger and his associates are apparently indifferent to the prospect of Europe becoming an American nuclear hostage by dint of its role of attracting those of the retaliatory strikes that would otherwise be directed at the United States. This explains Washington's maniacal desire to deploy American missiles in Europe: 572 today and possibly as many in the future. In the event of war, Europe will be used as a mere pawn in the game of securing the "vital interests" of the United States. In actual fact, the Pentagon acts upon the principle: the more American missiles in Western Europe, the greater the security of the United States. And this is exactly what the Pentagon generals are trying to achieve

through their "limited" nuclear war strategy.

Today the Pentagon has further complicated the missile situation in Europe with its space "odysseys". Using its old and tested demagogic ploys, the US President said in one of his speeches that he thought the United States should have an "anti-missile shield". What it actually means is that the American imperialists have decided, in addition to the nuclear sword, to have an anti-missile space umbrella. Not accidentally, the decision to create this "defence miracle" coincides in time with the deployment of several hundred Pershings and Tomahawks in Western Europe. The Pentagon is planning to install these missiles and then set up an anti-ballistic missile system in the 1990s in order to create a favourable situation for the United States in the military sense: the Pershings would take but a very little time to reach the Soviet Union, while a retaliatory strike at the aggressor in the United States would take several times as long and this "strike" would then be largely neutralised by the anti-ballistic missile system deployed in outer space.

In their efforts to turn Western Europe into the epicentre of a nuclear conflict, the Pentagon strategists think they can supply the future space-based anti-ballistic missile system with the kind of "winnability" element that was missing in other defence systems. If, supposing, the Americans built this space-based anti-ballistic missile system and thus protected themselves from retaliation, they would then be able to choose a convenient time to make their first strike. This means that in the proposed space-based anti-missile defence system the offensive element far outweighs the defensive, making the whole project offensive and aggressive. This is why the Pentagon's space ventures must not be viewed isolatedly, out of the context of its overall strategic

doctrine of "direct confrontation" which allows of the possibility of a nuclear war and America's victory in that war. Tagged "operational", these highly adventurous plans heighten the risk of a nuclear holocaust which would engulf the aggressor if he took that step into insanity.

The gamble for a victory in an all-out nuclear war or in a "limited" nuclear war in Europe puts world peace at risk. However, the Pentagon leaders never tire of making their scenarios and models of nuclear war all of which boil down to delivering a first nuclear strike. The Pentagon strategists are beset with the idea that should they have twice or thrice as many nuclear weapons as the USSR, they would be in a position to make their own terms, holding over the Soviets the possibility of military victory over them.

However, if the aggressor attempted to destroy his enemy with nuclear weapons, he would become completely defenceless in the face of retaliation. Hence real security lies in the *prevention* of a nuclear holocaust, in the setting up of reliable barriers to the arms drive. It looks, however, as if the leaders of the NATO countries are not giving enough thought to this problem. American weapons continue to pile up, new military bases are being built, the Rapid Deployment Force units are practicing combat cooperation, and the entire American military triad is holding massive exercises. This constant raising of the alarm, all these endless NATO decisions to create more effective and still more powerful missiles, submarines, super-modern bombers, space weapons and cruise missiles are being explained by dishonest statements about the "Soviet military threat". The Pentagon and NATO militarists use this mythical "threat" as their main argument to justify their dangerous course towards nuclear confrontation.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, peace as the natural state of a society rejecting war, is the main condition for the existence and further development of civilisation. However, the shadows of the nuclear threat coming from the United States and NATO are getting thicker. In these conditions millions of people are doing all they can to prevent the worst thing that could happen—nuclear catastrophe. There is still possibility for peaceful coexistence which, if followed up, could help preserve and strengthen world peace.

The Soviet leaders have on many occasions declared that peace could be assured on the basis of the principle of equal security for all nations. The desire to achieve one's own security (as the United States is trying to do) at the expense of such security for the Soviet Union and its allies can only heighten the risk of war. At present a new military and political situation has taken shape when the parity of the missile and nuclear strength of the two opposing blocs *can assure peace on our planet*. As was noted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "The military and strategic equilibrium prevailing between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, objectively serves to safeguard world peace." Under the present conditions peace is possible only if a power equilibrium is maintained and restraint is exercised. Superiority multiplied by the evil intent of those who want to dominate the world undermines the stability of world peace.

With the world being an interconnected and interdependent whole, any attempt to disrupt the equilibrium may lead to catastrophe. This means that military and strategic equilibrium in the world is the crucial material factor in future talks on a balanced, proportional, equal and gradual reduction in the levels of armaments on both sides.

However, Washington's policy and actions, despite its peace rhetoric, are spearheaded against the existing equilibrium of the strategic forces of the USSR and the USA. The policy of the United States remains essentially the same: to gain considerable military superiority over the USSR by deploying new American missiles in Europe. A disruption of this equilibrium in Europe would upset the strategic parity in the world and would, consequently, increase the threat of military confrontation, considering the monstrous plans of American imperialism to resolve the principal contradiction of our epoch by unleashing a nuclear war.

The security of the Europeans and the peoples living outside this continent, depends on the preservation of military and strategic parity.

Soviet policy in matters of peace on earth is very clear: security for all on the basis of parity and strategic equality of the two systems. The short-term goal of the Soviet Union, as can be judged from the statements by its leaders, is to reduce the immediate threat of nuclear war, then to make it still less likely and subsequently to rule out its possibility altogether. Regrettably, Washington regards foreign policy as a process in which one side must of necessity win out and the other lose out. It is time the Washington politicians understood that this position, should a war break out, will mean that all sides will lose. What we all need is peace and only peace.

NATO'S VIEWS ON PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IN WAR

The US military doctrine which has over the past several years undergone some changes and is in its present form set out in the Pentagon's document on

the armed forces build up in the United States (1982), is made up of a number of directives. These outline global objectives such as unilateral military superiority over socialism achieved by building up strategic nuclear forces, militarising outer space, consolidating the far-flung alliances of the imperialist states, and taking numerous military, economic and scientific measures. The US military doctrine reflects the strategic concept of "*direct confrontation*" according to which the United States should be prepared not only for a "limited" nuclear war, but also for an all-out protracted war. The document says that this military philosophy stipulates the destruction of socialism as a socio-political system.

Aligned with this concept are all the actions of the military-industrial complex, military departments and the entire machinery of psychological warfare. Considering that in the setting of peace ideological attacks on socialism must be maintained within the framework of the concept of fear, the USIA, CIA and other agencies of psychological warfare under the authority of the Pentagon, are carrying on propaganda drives aimed at intimidating their potential enemies and the population of many countries.

Allowing of the possibility of "limited" and "total" nuclear wars, also conventional wars, US and NATO leaders assign a special place to psychological operations—specific actions of massive indoctrination with a view to weakening people's will to fight and win. These anti-socialist operations are carried out by means of intimidation and disinformation, through propaganda aimed at undermining the morale of the socialist countries, the moral and political principles of their armed forces. There is a large number of special military units to carry out psychological operations in war time. The

US Army alone has four groups for psychological operations, each consisting of several battalions (the 1st group at Fort Lewis, the 5th and 7th groups at Fort Bragg, the 10th group at Fort Devens), and also 12 separate battalions and 22 separate companies.¹ What these units are expected to do in war time is set forth in a large number of documents, also in the manuals of the armed forces of individual Western countries and NATO's armed forces. The views on the substance and direction of NATO's psychological war against existing socialism have been formulated in various studies of East-West relations, in documents on ideological and moral aspects of defence, in the principles of planning and conducting the psychological war, and in some other documents which amount to directives for the Atlantic alliance. The US Army has about ten manuals which sum up different aspects of psychological warfare both before and after the outbreak of hostilities. The organisational and technical aspects of psychological warfare are given extensive coverage in Field Manual 33-1, Psychological Operations: US Army Doctrine. The Bundeswehr also attaches great importance to psychological warfare in its policy-making documents and field manuals. All these and other materials of NATO's armed forces, and of the armed forces of its member countries, formulate the principles of psychological warfare in peace time and in war time. In their more concentrated form these views underlie the field manuals of the United States Army and boil down to the following:

First. The NATO Command views psychological operations as an important independent instrument for exercising influence over the personnel of the army

¹ See *Military Review*, Vol. LXIII, No. 12, December 1983, p. 49.

and population of the enemy in order to achieve its tactical or strategic goals. The NATO Command bears responsibility for the readiness and ability of relevant units to conduct psychological operations against the enemy. These psychological operations, which are largely based on disinformation, must be coordinated with the intelligence and other agencies concerned.

Second. In the view of the NATO Command the psychological war is to be conducted by means of psychological methods and propaganda directed at changing the intentions and behaviour of the troops and population of the enemy in a way that would best suit the NATO armed forces. Psychological operations are to be conducted in conjunction with other forms of pressure on the enemy, also with actions of economic, political and military character that would affect enemy morale.

Third. The principal tasks of psychological operations are to exercise a desired influence on the population; to camouflage the plans of the friendly troops; to organise resistance to the enemy within its own ranks; to affect the neutral countries; to maintain the morale of the allies; to counter the effects of enemy propaganda. In combat conditions, according to US Army field manuals, the stress should be laid on a show of force and on intimidation of the enemy in order to undermine his resistance.

Fourth. According to NATO documents, many factors should be taken into consideration, factors that have a direct bearing upon the outcome of psychological operations: knowledge of the enemy's ideology, culture, religion, morale, national peculiarities. To increase the effectiveness of psychological operations, intimidation could be backed up by the dispatch of special units into the enemy rear on propaganda missions. These should also commit acts of sabotage and

terrorism in order to break the will of the enemy population to fight and thus to weaken the confidence of enemy troops in a successful outcome of the war.

These conceptual provisions give but a bare outline of the substance, organisation, direction and methods of psychological warfare in combat conditions against the armies and population of socialist countries. One can easily see that these principles are not altogether new, but are a mere extension of the old line of psychological warfare which the imperialist propaganda and intelligence agencies pursue in peace time.

The subversive and inhuman character of these views and directives is quite apparent. They show with stark clarity the difference between the ideological weapon used by socialism and the burglar's tools in the hands of bourgeois propaganda-mongers. The ideological weapon of socialism is that of truth, *historical truth*. Socialism does not need to resort to lies and disinformation, because social justice and the great truth of history are on its side. By contrast, imperialism, which reflects the interests of the outgoing classes, distorts the truth at every step, resorts to disinformation of the masses, to political lies, to outright fraud and deception which have become part of its official policy.

NATO's views on psychological war were largely influenced by the experience of the Second World War, the Cold War, the US aggression in Vietnam, and also by its military exercises and manoeuvres. As is known, the United States hatched a secret plan, code-named "Dropshot", for starting a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. That was soon after the end of the Second World War. An important place in that plan was devoted to psychological warfare which was regarded as a weapon whereby the imperialists sought to divide the peoples living in the Soviet Union, to cause ideological

confusion among them, to sap their moral fibre, to cause disarray in the life of the USSR. A special emphasis was placed on ideological subversion within individual ethnic groups by using nationalist rhetoric. These plans did not materialise in a nuclear war, but the imperialists tried to realise them in the course of the Cold War and later on to this day. In 1983, the Pentagon commissioned the Rand Corporation to make a study of the ethnic factor in the Soviet Armed Forces. This extensive research analyses relations in the multi-ethnic Soviet Army and Navy, and suggests recommendations for using some of the ethnic features for subversive activities.

Using its bourgeois nationalist methodology the Rand Corporation also gave recommendations on how to precipitate conflicts and antagonism between different ethnic groups in war time, and how to set the troops and the local population against one another. The Rand planners seem to be unable to understand to this day that whereas multiethnicity under capitalism is a source of weakness, multiethnic communities under socialism are a source of strength, owing to the unity of social, political and ideological interests.

During the war in Vietnam, special emphasis was placed on frightening the local population by appealing to their instinct of self-preservation in order to arouse among civilians and troops an abiding sense of fear, uncertainty and doom. In this case the methodology of intimidation stems from the Freudian concept of permanence of fear which, if skillfully used to influence social and individual consciousness, can fully paralyse man's rational activity. According to Freud, a person is unable to stand up to fear for any length of time. Sooner or later he will succumb to its power which will make all his actions irrational. With the

personnel of the enemy armed forces in the grip of fear, their command would be unable to carry out any significant military offensive operations.

What actually happened was quite different from what the American psychoanalysts hoped for. The confidence of the Vietnamese people in the just character of their liberatory, anti-imperialist war proved to be much stronger than the ploys of the American militarists who had thought they could crawl into the darkest and innermost recesses of human psyche in order to blow up from within the socio-political foundations of a people fighting against an aggressor.

In their psychological operations in Vietnam the Americans made wide use of intimidation, bribery, demoralisation of the population and troops with base mercantile instincts. For example, the American authorities announced that those who reported the position of a mine field were entitled to a reward of 4 dollars; those who reported the position of a guerilla force—20 dollars; those who brought and turned in a machine gun—60 dollars and those who helped to capture or destroy the enemy—65 dollars. However, the theorists and practitioners of psychological warfare lost out here, too. A nation fighting for its freedom has a different scale of values. Freedom, independence, honour, loyalty to a progressive ideal, hatred for the aggressor—none of these receive payment for treachery.

The tactics and methods of psychological warfare in combat are worked out at NATO's special command and staff exercises with an eye to their use in strategic or tactical operations.

Strategic operations of psychological warfare may involve large regions and, indeed, the entire globe. Such operations are to help weaken the morale of the armies and the population of the Warsaw Treaty coun-

tries. A former commander of the 6th Psychological Operations Battalion at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and now an assistant defence intelligence officer with the US Defense Intelligence Agency, Lieutenant Colonel Michael W. Totten, wrote in an article "US Army Psychological Operations and the Army Reserves" that psychological operations (PSYOP) are "conducted as a part of every national endeavor to regain strategic superiority".¹ Strategic operations are meant to split up the coalition of the Warsaw Treaty countries, to distort the objectives and causes of the war and to draw attention away from its perpetrators. Strategic operations can be carried out by the entire machine of imperialist information services, intelligence agencies, and also by special units, using an armada of technical facilities such as radio, television, and printing equipment. Strategic operations can be conducted in both peace time and war time. Among such operations were the actions of the imperialist propaganda agencies and special services directed at Hungary in 1956 (instigation of and support for the counter-revolutionary uprising); during the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (organisation of actions of right-wing opportunism); during the 1973 and 1982 aggressions of Israel in the Middle East (exoneration of the aggressors and the division of the Arab world); interference in the affairs of socialist Poland in 1981-82 (creation of anti-socialist organisations opposed to Poland's legitimate authorities). There are many more actions of this sort.

The strategic operations of psychological warfare do not boil down merely to certain subversive actions in the sphere of social consciousness, but are, as a rule, part of a broad *complex* of measures, such as show of

¹ *Military Review*, December 1983, p. 49.

force, economic blockade, discrimination in trade, curtailment of cultural and scientific contacts, political pressure, subversive actions, acts of terrorism, etc. Strategic operations are planned and carried out directly under the guidance of the top political authority of the imperialist states, and the NATO's Command. This means that psychological strategic operations sum up the main (for a particular historical moment) efforts of the imperialist quarters to undermine the moral and political principles of the socialist states and progressive developing countries.

According to NATO, psychological operations can also be tactical in character. As a rule, such operations are not meant for lasting effect and are conducted among enemy troops and civilians. The idea of such operations is to promote military success, undermine the morale of selected groups of armed forces. Tactical operations are carried out with the help of specialised units using radio and audio broadcasting, political leaflets, mobile subversive groups. During the war in Vietnam, for example, the US agencies of psychological war carried out a large number of tactical operations aimed at breaking the morale of the Vietnamese patriots and their resistance in certain selected areas, to achieve limited objectives by way of disinformation, spreading all kinds of insinuations and by deluding the enemy.

When the United States invaded Grenada, special units of psychological warfare were used. Loudspeakers set up here and there demanded: "Lay down your arms and surrender!" American helicopters dropped thousands of leaflets calling for surrender and for turning the patriots over to the occupation authorities; the soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division put Cuban building workers and engineers behind barbed wire and mounted a poster-board reading "Communism

stops here". This was how *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich described the psychological aspect of the American invasion of Grenada.¹ The American special services carried out tactical operations in different parts of the world against progressive regimes, national liberation movements, and mass revolutionary actions. The events in Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Iran, Lebanon showed the sinister role of the American psychological warfare machine which did its utmost to destabilise the situation, to abort progressive reform and reconstruction work by the revolutionary authorities. In their efforts to carry out strategic and tactical psychological operations the staffs and specialised agencies of the NATO armed forces follow the guidelines set forth in various policy-making documents.

One such guideline prescribed a "psychological strike" at the weakest point by exhausting enemy troops, creating a bad ethnic atmosphere, sapping the moral fibre and fighting spirit, etc. The idea of all these NATO recommendations is to create antagonism between the army and the population.

Some of the guidelines lay the emphasis on intimidation of both enemy troops and population. The NATO theorists of psychological warfare assume that the sense of fear can not only paralyse the will to fight, but also induce certain "elements" in the enemy camp to "co-operate" with the armed forces of the capitalist states.

To assure the success of a psychological operation, intelligence must continuously be gathered on the morale of enemy troops. NATO experts in psychological warfare also recommend making "news" that would reflect the actual psychological weaknesses, national peculiarities and the morale of people whose life is con-

¹ *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, November 9, 1983.

stantly at risk. By taking account of the strong and weak aspects of enemy morale the NATO armed forces could, in the view of psychological warfare theorists, increase their combat capability.

Other demands made by NATO's leaders on psychological operations in combat are couched very much in the same vein. Significantly, the psychological operations units are expected to carry their actions in close contact with the terrorist groups known as "special task forces". To control these operations the First Special Operations Command was set up in November 1982, with its headquarters at Fort Bragg. These troops are intended for employment deep in the rear of the armies of the socialist countries for subversion, sabotage, disruption of communications, destabilisation of the economy and transport. In the view of NATO strategists, these special groups operating in combat must also mount something like a guerilla war, creating at the same time a verisimilitude of a weak rear in the socialist countries and a split between them. It is easy to see that preparations for such actions, which are very similar to actions of psychological warfare, clearly show that the rules of international law and the principles of humanity simply do not exist for imperialism.

Psychological warfare personnel is trained at a number of special military schools. The US Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Centre at Fort Bragg, for example, has a special school for psychological warfare. There are similar schools in Euskirchen (West Germany) and in Old Sarum (Britain)—these in addition to other centres for the training of specialists in ideological sabotage and psychological aggression. At all these centres future propaganda-mongers study different aspects of life in the socialist countries and in their armies, social, and ethnic peculiarities of the popula-

tion of the USSR, methods of disinformation and subversion and ways to create a psychological climate that would weaken the moral and political strength of Soviet society. Referring to one such special training centre, the American magazine *Soldiers* wrote that for months the trainees are taught how to prove to the enemy under psychological attack that black is white, and that the sun shines at night.

A great deal of attention here is devoted to the use of technical facilities of propaganda and disinformation, "work" with the population, prisoners-of-war, renegades, etc. Already in peace time these centres prepare special texts of radio addresses, leaflets and audio programmes which brazenly distort the truth, falsify real facts and shift the blame for international tensions and for a possible war onto the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The idea of training psycho-war contingents, in the view of NATO's leaders, is to assure readiness for extensive psychological operations against the socialist states. The material preparation for war carried out in the USA and other NATO countries is accompanied not only by "adjustment" of their military-and-strategic doctrines, but also by preparations for all-out psychological operations to be carried out alongside combat actions.

Training in the techniques of psychological warfare extends to outright acts of subversion by commandos who are taught how to destroy mass media facilities, create panic, psychological depression of civilians, etc. Thus NATO's long-term plans provide for the training of specialists in different fields for paralysing the will of people to fight and win.

CONCLUSION

Never before has the problem of war and peace been so acute. To be or not to be is today a question for all mankind. These are not just two alternatives to choose from. No, the choice is between existence and extinction, a dilemma which epitomises two lines, two anti-thetic concepts of world politics.

The first is the imperialist concept which, ignoring the new situation and the new correlation of forces and the consequences of the old policy of force, still gambles on war as a means whereby the leaders of capitalist America hope to prevail over socialism. This chimerical objective was the keynote of the speech that the US President made in the British Parliament in June 1982. He must have forgotten that that was exactly what the leaders of fourteen capitalist countries wanted to achieve when they started a crusade against hungry, ravaged Russia which had, nevertheless, tasted freedom and had felt the indestructible appeal of the socialist future. Neither did the Soviet people forget Winston Churchill's threats to "strangle the Bolshevik state at its birth". Hitler and many of those who would like to follow in his footsteps, champions of the Cold War, hoped to bury socialism. The outcome of all these mis-adventures is well known. It was they who eventually found themselves rotting on the "ash heap of history". All these dealers of destruction have one thing in common: the big lie of anti-communism. Any fair-minded person can see that a society whose policies and ideolo-

gical concepts are built on lies generated by the capitalist class is a sick society. This is why in their crusade against the USSR and the other socialist countries so much stress is laid not only on military might, but also on massive ideological and psychological pressure which is a special brand of aggression against human intellect. This is why Lenin's words he said early in this century have not lost their significance to this day: "If at the moment they cannot attack us with guns, they attack us with lies and slander."¹

The other, socialist concept of world development stands for peace as the highest human value. The confidence of this concept in the justice of the communist ideals fully accords with the need for and the possibility of peaceful coexistence, economic and cultural competition between the two systems. "An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence—such is our ideal,"² wrote Lenin back in 1915. This is the ideal that the Soviet Union has been working for. Proof of this is the practical implementation of the Soviet Programme of Peace for the 1980s. Socialism and peace are inseparable. This is why Soviet people are so indignant about the vicious lies being circulated in the West alleging that the USSR poses a threat to civilisation. They firmly reject the legends, myths and ideological stereotypes of the protagonists of the psychological war. The Soviet Union explodes all these lies with true facts—the main weapon of Marxists-Leninists in the battle of ideas. Socialism has no need for the above methods of psychological warfare, for the truth has no use for embellishment. The truth of history, the truth of socialism is so strong that it fully

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 293.

reflects the state of things as they are and the interests of the working masses. And this makes the truth of history and the truth of socialism invincible. On its part, anti-Soviet literature seeks to show socialism, its ideals, plans and true intentions in the most unattractive light. Publications, like the earlier mentioned book *Dezinformatsia* by R. Shultz and R. Godson, attempt to foster hatred for socialism and everything associated with it, to foster hostility towards the USSR, to revive the old spy fever.

The psychological war which the reactionary imperialist circles are waging against socialism is a sign of class pathology, of spiritual degeneration of those who are afraid of social change in the world. A study of materials and documents concocted at the imperialist kitchen of psychological war, also the practical actions perpetrated by ideological saboteurs against socialism make it possible to judge their long-term strategic plans and intentions.

First. There is every reason to believe that everything that could be done is being done and will be done in capitalist countries to put anti-communist blinders on the people. Using disinformation, which has become the principal method of propaganda, the advocates of psychological war will continue to discredit socialism, its policy and aims, to frighten the layman with the "Red scare" bogey. In actual fact, the psychological war is largely being waged not only against world socialism, but also against the peoples of the capitalist countries. This fact alone is a sign of the deep crisis of the ideological and social foundations of bourgeois society which cannot exist without manipulation of the consciousness of millions of its citizens. The atmosphere of disinformation, fear, military hysteria and psychosis has become a permanent feature of the political power of

monopoly capital. There is every reason to believe that the organisers of special services and the instigators of the psychological war will go on trying to lure the social consciousness of people away from the burning issues of the socio-economic crisis in their own countries by administering injections of anti-communism, using psychological pressure upon civilians many of whom have been entrapped by propaganda stereotypes.

Second. The propaganda and psychological war of imperialism are spearheaded at the socialist consciousness of the people. This has become an important element of the policy of capitalist countries, with presidents, prime ministers and government agencies taking an active part. Judging by the present trend in Washington's policy, the US propaganda and intelligence services will continue to fuse their operations in the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie which seeks to subvert not only the ideological, but also the state and social structures of socialist society. The imperialist special services, the subversive centres of psychological war are planning to move the focus of their activities into the socialist countries themselves. The growing technical possibilities of propaganda, intelligence and subversion by the imperialist special services intensify psychological actions, making them more aggressive.

Third. The psychological war against socialism is taking on an increasingly more differentiated and selective character. Among the many other ideological and psychological actions, there is always one particular direction of attack, a weak link or vulnerable points as the imperialists see them. Attacking the socialist community as a whole, the imperialist propaganda agencies and centres of psychological warfare sometimes concentrate on certain particular countries.

These and some other directions of psychological war

will most likely feature prominently in the strategic plans of the imperialists for some time to come. In their efforts to achieve unilateral military superiority the United States and the other NATO countries are pressing ahead with their psychological subversive actions which they regard as one of the principal means of weakening the positions of socialism. The entire system of propagandist and subversive activities built by the militarist quarters amounts to psychological preparations for a new war.

In such conditions socialism is compelled to counter these aggressive designs. Socialism has an effective means that the imperialists have never had and will never have in future. This is the truth of Marxism-Leninism which can expose disinformation and falsification, lay bare the big lie of the imperialists, scotch rumours, counter intimidation with optimism and prejudice with lofty ideals and firm convictions.

The dialectics of the life of human society is very complicated. But there is one tendency that stands out in the kaleidoscope of events, phenomena and social processes: the overriding desire of the peoples of the world to preserve peace, to remove the danger of nuclear war. If we could hold a world-wide referendum on the problem of war and peace, most of the people of our planet would speak out for peace, for the ideas of peaceful coexistence which socialism stands for.

Today the sinister psychological war machine is working to capacity in order that people the world over might not speak out in one voice against the imperialist adventures and their plans to rule the world and to remove their opponents by military force. Sitting at the console of this machine are those who have been selected for the job by the military-industrial complex, those who have not yet given up hopes of winning the

battles they once lost. Whatever they will try to do, the big lie, which is the main instrument of the psychological war, will never be able to stand up to the truth in its historical context.

The PSYCHOLOGICAL War

Prof. Dmitri Volkogonov (b. 1928), D. Sc. (Phil.), a professional soldier, engaged in scientific work. His fields of research include methodological problems of military theory and practice, critical analysis of bourgeois ideology, counter-propaganda and military ethics. He is the author of 20 books, including *Officers' Ethics* (1973), *Military Ethics* (1976), *A Methodology of Ideological Education* (1980), *The Phenomenon of Heroism* (1985), and also of some 500 studies, many of which have been published abroad in translation.